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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

MEETING OF COLOURED CITIZENS OF BOSTON.

PRESENTATION TO MR. WILLIAM C. NELL FOR HIS EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF EQUAL SCHOOL RIGHTS.

[In *The Liberator* of last week we find a full report of the proceedings of a large and intelligent meeting of the coloured citizens of Boston, held on the 17th ult., for the purpose of presenting a testimonial to Mr. Wm. C. Nell for his disinterested and untiring exertions in procuring the opening of the public schools of the city to all the children and youth within its limits, irrespective of complexional differences. John T. Hilton, a long-tried and faithful friend of the anti-slavery cause, presided. In the list of Vice-Presidents we find the names of Robert Morris, Esq., J. S. Rock, M.D., Robert Johnson and Lewis Hayden. Nestor P. Freeman and George P. Ruffin were the Secretaries. The President made an appropriate introductory speech, after which a coloured boy, Frederick Lewis, delivered an address of thanks to Mr. Nell, presenting to him at the close a beautiful boquet—the audience expressing their gratification by repeated cheers. Mrs. Georgiana O. Smith then presented to Mr. Nell an elegant gold watch, worth ($150 00), bearing the inscription—"*A Tribute to* William C. Nell, *from the coloured citizens of Boston, for his untiring efforts in behalf of Equal School Rights, Dec.* 17, 1855." Mr. Nell, in reply, delivered the following address.]

SPEECH OF WM. C. NELL.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The struggle for Equal School Rights, which for so long a series of years has taxed our hearts, our heads and our hands, having, through the aid of many friends, at length been triumphantly successful, it was but natural that the gratitude of parents and children should desire to make some record of the emotions awakened by such a signal and public good. With partial kindness, you have been pleased to make me the recipient of these honours, in recognition of the humble services it was my privilege to render the cause we all have loved so well.

Any attempt to express the feelings which swell my heart at this, the proudest moment of my life, it is no affectation to say, would be wholly unavailing. Your own hearts can best interpret mine. To be surrounded by such a constellation of friends from various walks of life, comprising those who have known me from early boyhood, and those of but recent acquaintance—realizing the fact that this is their united testimonial, approving my course in so glorious a reform—to be elaborate on such a theme calls for abilities far transcending any that I possess. I should be doing injustice, however, to my own sense of right were I to allow the occasion to pass without referring to others whose words and deeds, in promotion of the movement, should engrave their names indelibly upon the tablets of our memory.

To secure accuracy of names and dates, I have committed them to paper; but, anticipating the mental feast in reserve for us from the distinguished friends who have graced our meeting with their presence, I will be as brief as the circumstances will admit.

In the year 1829, while a pupil in the basement story of the Belknap street Church, Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, then Mayor of the city, accompanied Hon. Samuel T. Armstrong to an examination of the coloured school. It chanced that Charles A. Battiste, Nancy Woodson and myself were pronounced entitled to the highest reward of merit. In lieu of Franklin Medals, legitimately our due, Mr. Armstrong gave each an order on Dea. James Loring's Bookstore for the Life of Benjamin Franklin. This is the copy I received! The white medal scholars were invited guests to the Faneuil Hall dinner. Having a boy's curiosity to be spectator at the "feast of reason and the flow of soul," I made good my court with one of the waiters, who allowed me to seem to serve others as the fee for serving myself, the physical being then with me subordinate. Mr. Armstrong improved a prudent moment in whispering to me, "*You* ought to be here with the other *boys*." Of course, the same idea had more than once been mine, but his remark, while witnessing the honours awarded to the white scholars, only augmented my sensitiveness all the more, by the intuitive inquiry which I eagerly desired to express—"If you think so, why have you not taken steps to bring it about?"

The impression made on my mind, by this day's experience, deepened into a solemn vow that, God helping me, I would do my best to hasten the day when the colour of the skin would be no barrier to equal school rights. I need not tell you that it was several years before any movement could be made promising a favourable result. In the year 1840, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Francis Jackson, Henry W. Williams, and myself, signed a petition, asking the City Government to grant equal school rights. Of course, but little, if any, progress was made at the time. In the year 1846, another petition was forwarded from George Putnam and eighty-five others. In 1849, Jonas W. Clarke and 227 others renewed the appeal, which was urged through several years' attendance with agitations and individual skirmishes not always confined to our white citizens, until, in May, 1854, George F. Williams, Esq., submitted an able report to the City Government, recommending equal rights and equal privileges to coloured children. His efforts, responded to by a few members of each branch, paved the way for that action in the succeeding Legislature which accomplished the long sought-for object. As a means to this end, petitions were circulated, and, though but to a limited extent, it resulted in 1,469 names being forwarded. Of this number, I had the honour of obtaining 311 in Boston, which was augmented by 87 through the exertions of our zealous friend Lewis Hayden. It will not be individious to mention two places in the Commonwealth whose earlier and successful struggles in the same reform prompted their ready and cheerful coöperation with us. Wesley Berry headed the one from Nantucket, and the name of Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, with the leading clergymen and officials, graced the other from Salem with 114 names—a success achieved by the joint labours of the wife of Charles Lenox Remond and Mrs. George Putnam, formerly of this city. John B. Bailey and Peter Randolph in Charlestown were faithful auxiliaries, and the exertions of white anti-slavery friends in East Bridgewater, Lexington, Bolton and Leominster were no less praiseworthy, some towns, including Lynn and Haverhill, sending 300 names and upwards.

These petitions were promptly responded to by the Legislature. In the House, the bill was ordered to a third reading with an affirmative shout, not more than half a dozen voting audibly in opposition. The Senate as readily coöperated, and the Governor placed his sign manual to the bill, April 28.

To the honour of that Legislature be it recorded, that equal school rights found there a host of strong and vigilant supporters; among them, Mr. Kimball, of Salem, and that trio, including the member from Essex, so like a *Prince* in defending Humanity's claim, that eloquent and *Swift* witness against those who would despoil us of our rights, and that other last mentioned now, but more prominent *then* than all, who was never *Slack* in fulfilling his promises, and whose efforts continued until they were crowned with brilliant success.

The City Government, inspired by the State's laudable example, with commendable haste reversed the action of their predecessors, and acceded to the proposition suggested by one influential member, who remarked that "the coloured people had in effect abolished the school themselves, and it would be absurd in refusing to pass the order"; and the vote was sustained by 38 Yeas to 6 Nays; thus confirming that saying of a wise man, "There are no limits to the power of an intelligent and determined people." Fortunately, the *Bishop* who superintended at the city educational altar proffered his willing heart and hand to secure to our children what the letter and spirit of the law guaranteed.

D'Aubigne, in his History of the Reformation, says, "Opinions make their progress like the waters that trickle behind our rocks, and loosen them from the mountains in which they rest; suddenly the operation is revealed, and a single day suffices to lay bare the work of years, if not of centuries." How beautifully this truth has been illustrated in the reform we this evening meet to celebrate! an accumulation of words and deeds dotting its whole history to its culmination.

The two extremes of opinion on the Anti-Slavery question have met in this discussion. Some have expressed opinions legal, and otherwise favourable to the right, who else had no affinity with the anti slavery cause. We have profited by both.

Hon Richard Fletcher, Hon. Charles H. Warren, John A. Bolles, Esq., Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, Edmund Quincy, T. W. Higginson, Rev. Daniel Foster, Rev. E. A. Stockman, Hon H. Wilson, Hon. C. T. Russell, acted in unison in promoting this desirable object.

Hon. G. S. Hilliard and Rev. John T. Sargent, on one occasion, were the only two in the School Board to vote in our favour; and Mr. Hillard, on several occasions since, when his legal duties required otherwise, has volunteered his acquiescence in our appeal.

Benjamin F. Roberts, who, in 1849, instituted a suit against the city for excluding his child from the public schools, so nobly defended by Hon. Charles Sumner, whose argument, though not then influencing the Supreme Bench, had a most potent bearing on the members of the Legislature which granted our rights. Associated with him in this case was Robert Morris, Esq., whose very presence as a coloured member of the Massachusetts Bar was a living protest against all exclusive coloured institutions.

The brothers Francis and Edmund Jackson, and those other brothers, Henry I. and William I. Bowditch, each pair like Dickens's brothers Cheeryble, were specially active, rivalling each other in these kind offices.

John A. Andrews, Esq., with a keen eye to the emergency, amended the legislative bill, making assurance doubly sure.

Wendell Phillips, Esq., who, from the moment of signing the first petition with Wm. Lloyd Garrison, like him has always been ready, in and out of season, with his rich gifts of voice and pen, before legislative and other committees, to advocate our claims; Rev. Theodore Parker, who, side by side with Wendell Phillips in those memorable struggles to rescue Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns from the hell of American slavery, so, side by side were their names appended to the Boston petition for equal school rights, and, but for an imperative engagement, they would have been side by side here this evening to receive our unfeigned thanks for their abundant labours in this cause.

William J. Watkins also buckled on his armour, and did most efficient service; and you, Sir, our worthy Chairman, your white plume, like that of Henry IV. at the battle of Navarre, was always seen at that point where the blows fell thick and fast in our defence. I am aware how notorious it is that the good man shrinks from the open proclamation to his face of his really good qualities. But while the friends assembled will not doubt my veracity in these statements, they and those who have helped rear for us and our children the Temple of Equality, will indulge me on this special occasion, in view of the past, present and future history of school rights. Let us not forget to duly honour those who, by their exertions, have secured to us these blessings.

While I would not in the smallest degree detract from the credit justly due the *men* for their conspicuous exertions in this reform, truth enjoins upon me the pleasing duty of acknowledging that to the *women*, and the *children* also, is the cause especially indebted for success.

In the dark hours of our struggle, when betrayed by traitors within and beset by foes without, while some men would become lukewarm and indifferent, despairing of victory, then did the women keep the flame alive; and as their hopes would weave bright visions for the future, their husbands and brothers would rally for a new attack upon the fortress of colourphobia. Yes, Sir, it was the *mothers* (God bless them!) of these little bright-eyed boys and girls, who, through every step of our progress, were executive and vigilant, even to that memorable Monday morning (September 3, 1855), the trial hour, when the coloured children of Boston went up to occupy the long-promised land. It was these mothers who accompanied me to the various school-houses, to residences of teachers and committee-men, to see the laws of the Old Bay State applied in good faith.

An omnipresent consciousness of my own experience when a school-boy, and how my heart would have leaped in the enjoyment then of equal school rights, has proved a strong incentive to my interest for your boys and girls; for, having none of my own, I took the liberty of adopting them all as my children—and the smiles of approbation with which so many of them have greeted me, in their homes and the highways and by-ways of life, have imparted to me a wealth of inspiration and encouragement not obtainable from any other source. He that makes glad the heart of a child, receives in return whole volumes of benedictions, and is richer far than if upon his brow were entwined a monarch's diadem.

These mothers have also laboured at home to instil into the minds of their children the necessity of striving to obtain, as also to appreciate, these rights—emulating that New England mother, who was said to mingle instruction in her children's bread and milk, and put good morals into their apple pies! With commendable zeal, the boys and girls have endeavoured to profit by these counsels.

On the morning preceding their advent to the public schools, I saw from my window a boy passing the exclusive Smith School (where he had been a pupil), and, raising his hands, he exultingly exclaimed to his companions, "*Good bye forever, coloured school! To-morrow we are like other Boston boys!*"

In my daily walks, I behold the companionship, in studies and healthful glee, of boys and girls of all colours and races in these temples of learning, so justly a theme of pride to every citizen; sights and sounds indeed to me chief among ten thousand, and altogether lovely; and since the 3d of September to the present time, the sun, moon and stars are regular in their courses! No orb has proved so eccentric as to shoot madly from its sphere in consequence, and the State House on Beacon Hill, and old Faneuil Hall, remain as firm upon their bases as ever.

This union of mothers and children with husbands and fathers has contributed vastly to the great result. They have been the allied forces, which conquered our Sebastopol.

To the coloured boys and girls of Boston it may now in truth be said, the lines have fallen to you in pleasant places; behold, you have a goodly heritage—may it stimulate you to greet the voice of Wisdom, as she sweetly offers the choicest treasures of her gathered stores—

"With eager hand the glowing page to turn,
To scan the earth and cleave the distant sky,
And find the force that holds the planets in their spheres."

Do not waste your spring of youth in idle dalliance, but plant rich seeds to blossom in your manhood, and bear fruit when you are old. The public schools of Boston are the gateways to the pursuits of honour and usefulness; and if rightly improved by you, the imagination almost wearies as future prospects dawn upon its vision; for,

"Hills over hills, and Alps on Alps arise."

In response to your floral tribute, so pleasing and acceptable, allow me to say, that I needed it not as an evidence of your satisfaction with the rights obtained, or my participancy therein, for the pleasure of the service has abundantly rewarded me. Endeavour to retain the impressions made upon your memories by this meeting, for, after all, you children are the parties benefitted. Your parents have laboured to achieve this good for you, and to them you must ever render due honour. The three children of an Eastern lady were invited to furnish her with an expression of their love before she went on a long journey. One brought a marble tablet, with the inscription of her name; another presented her with a garland of flowers; the third entered her presence, and thus accosted her: "Mother, *I* have neither marble tablet nor fragrant nosegay, but I have a *heart*; *here your* name is engraved; *here your* name is precious; and this *heart*, full of affection, will follow you wherever you travel, and remain with you wherever you repose." I know of no more appropriate advice to boys and girls than to commend their imitation of that child's example; and when a few short years will have rolled away, and all proscription shall have done its work in the land, may

"You love at times to pause, and strew the way
With the wild flowers that luxuriant pend
From Spring's gay branches, that whene'er you send
Your memory to retrace your pilgrimage,
She by those flowers her winding course may bend,
Back through each twilight and each weary stage,
And with those early flowers wreath the white brow of age."

I could cull from my chapter of experience and observation many an unkind and insulting remark uttered against the rights of coloured children in Boston, by school-committee men, editors, and others occupying responsible positions; but, as they can be reserved for future use, to "point a moral," if *not* to "adorn a tale," let us, in this hour of victory, be magnanimous enough to cover with the charity of our silence the names of *all* who have opposed us.

Madam: In accepting this elegant token from your hands, I am not vain enough to monopolize the honour and gratitude so eminently due to those I have mentioned, and others who have promoted this great work. Let it be regarded as a joint offering to them all, to be held in trust by me only so long as I am faithful to the elevation of those with whom I am identified by complexion and condition—the cause of humanity.

May we all *Watch* each other, that our *hands* may be diligent—our *hours* consecrated, each *minute*, indeed every *second*, in that movement upon our *dial-plate* indicating a *chain* of Human Brotherhood. The associations of this evening will be my *main-spring* henceforward—its recollections more fragrant than *choice flowers*—ever-enduring as *time*. Friends, go on!

"Oft as the memory of this hour returns,
May friendship's flame within your bosoms burn,
And, hand in hand, improvement's course pursue,
Till scenes of earth have faded from your view;
Then your glad spirits, freed from bonds of clay,
Shall soar triumphant to the home of day—
Where softer dews than Hermon's give perfume
To flowers sweeter than in Sharon bloom,
Entrancing music breathe in airs divine,
And toil no more the spirit's flight confine;
But ever onwards through its bright abode,
Bask in the presence of its Maker, God."

Mr. Nell's address was frequently interrupted by applause, especially at the mention of those anti-slavery friends who had given their aid to the cause.

[Charles W. Slack, Esq., made an excellent speech, from which we can only give an extract, as follows:]

The idea had been rigidly entertained by a large portion of the community that there was something repulsive in having the little children of colour sit side by side with those of white parents in the public schools; but when the reform was accomplished—when, on the first Monday of September last, these bright little ones about us went up, with equal privileges and equal freedom, to common schools, although, for a moment, there was a slight buzz of astonishment at the unusual spectacle, the next day it had all passed away, and they were met as gladly by teachers and pupils as any other children. He had just been told by one of the School Committee present on the occasion [Henry Upham, Esq.], that the teachers in those schools where the coloured children are the more numerous report that they come as neatly dressed, and are as gifted in application and understanding, as the children of parents who have had all the advantages which wealth, position and culture could give! (Applause.)

Well, this prejudice against coloured children in the public schools has been driven out of sight—thank God for that! (Cheers.) It was another of the triumphs which had marked the struggle for the elevation of the coloured race in this Commonwealth First came the abrogation of the laws against intermarriage—not that many desired that privilege, but they could not consent that a mark of inequality should be placed upon either race, white or black; then the "Jim Crow" car was abolished, and the privilege of travel in every public conveyance fully maintained; then the places of amusement were thrown open to the coloured race equally with the white; then followed, in Boston, the abolition of the "negro pew" in the City Directory, and the record of all citizens alike, without distinction of colour or race; and now, to crown the whole, we have established the right of the humblest child in the community to all the benefits of our common-school education, equally with the offspring of the proudest citizen in the Commonwealth.

[Wendell Phillips also delivered an address, from which we extract the following:]

Mr. Phillips (who was received with loud cheers) said he rejoiced very heartily in the occasion that called them together. It was one of those rare days in the history of a hard struggle, when there was something palpable to rejoice at. Men were always asking—What has the anti-slavery agitation done? He was glad they had this answer to make now—It had opened the schools! For he supposed every one would be willing to allow that without agitation of the public mind, on the general question, the doors of the schools would never have been opened. When he first took hold of this enterprise, he believed the coloured people would never obtain equality in the Senate House until they got it on the school-bench; and when they got it on the school-bench, if they improved their privileges, they might clutch what they would from the community. But two things rule in this country—brains and money (laughter); the brains get the money, too, therefore they are the better. The common schools gave them the brains, now let the coloured people get the money; and then they need not ask the white race to let them be equal, for when the white man found the man of colour passing him in the race, he would whisper—"By-the-by, that fellow is fully my equal" (applause).

* * * * * * *

The best thing learned by these struggles is, how to prepare for another. They were in for the war. He should never think Massachusetts a State fit to live in until he saw one man, at least, as black as the ace of spades, a graduate of Harvard College (cheers).

He had no notion of such an empire as ours affected to be, confined to one race—it is too narrow. He did not go for annexing territory only, but for annexing hearts—all sorts of races, all sorts of customs. Let a man burn the dead body of his wife, if she desires it! When they had high schools and colleges to which all classes and colours were admitted on equal terms, then he should think Massachusetts was indeed the noblest representative of the principles that planted her.

They were greatly indebted to the young man whom they had met to honour. These causes are apt to sink, when everybody's business is nobody's business. They were none of them willing to give the cheerless, disheartening toil, the unremitting industry, the hope against hope, which he has given. If he had not been the nucleus, there would have been no cause; if he had not gone up to the Legislature when it seemed mere impertinence to go there, nobody would have gone. He (Mr. P.) loved to have these hours, when they could turn away from the battle, to do honour to the self-devotion, to the life-long energy and true-heartedness of such a man. They knew that while many who started with him had been turned aside by professional emolument, or private gain, he had been true to his race, true to his idea. Emerson had said—"A Tory is a Democrat gone to seed" (laughter). Cold-hearted age is the natural successor of enthusiastic youth. We see it so often, we expect it. When he saw an old man with the lava of his young enthusiasm just as hot, his confidence in the right just as loyal, his determination to stereotype honest pulses into statutes just as fixed, as at nineteen, he was the man whom he would point the young to imitate, and the old to try to go back and be like (loud cheers). We say sometimes distrustfully, "This man has not attended to his own interest; he did not know his own business; he would have been a richer man if he had been more stingy." So he would! It was *our* interests he was attending to; it was the foundation of better times he was laying. It was not the want of sense, it was a higher sense. Their friend Nell had invested his capital in the children of his fellow-citizens, in the ideas which will prevail hereafter; and when he goes down to the grave, those whom he has benefitted will remember and honour him, as one who trusted in the honesty of Massachusetts, and who waited to prove she could be just.

There was another reason, Mr. Phillips said, why he rejoiced in this triumph. Some seven years ago he told the Legislature, when he asked them to go for Disunion, that they must not be tired nor frightened, for the Abolitionists would come year after year and ask it, and we should gain it in the end (loud cheers). And his reason was, that they had gained all they had ever asked for, except Disunion and equal schools. He should only have to make one exception now. It is a fate! The moment a coloured man and an Abolitionist sign a petition, it is fated—it will be granted in the end. They might just as well say—these proud legislators, up above the reach of the tide—with the coon—"Is this Captain John Scott? for if it is, I will come down"—because they will have to come down in the end (laughter and applause).

[Mr. Garrison made a brief address, in which he bore the strongest testimony to the value and importance of Mr. Nell's labours in behalf of Equal School Rights, and commended the chairman for his fidelity to the anti-slavery cause. Charles Lenox Remond made the concluding address. We give an extract:]

But while they had come up there to congratulate each other on the victory they had achieved, they should be careful to make it understood that they were not yet satisfied with the state of things in Massachusetts. While he admitted, with Mr. Phillips, that this victory afforded a basis for further efforts, he should continue to feel uneasy in his native State while there was a single act of proscription on the part of the white people against the coloured people. They must bear in mind that they were yet excluded from the jury box; and he hoped that the coloured people of Boston and of the State would commence a new agitation, and not allow it to cease until coloured men are seated in the jury box—at least, on every occasion when a coloured man is to be tried (prolonged cheering). In England, when a foreigner was put on trial in a court of justice, one half of the jury were composed of foreigners. They ought to insist here that when a coloured man was tried, one half of the jury should also be coloured.

Mr. R. said he hoped that when they left that house they would go away with a firm resolution that wherever there was a difficult duty to be performed in the anti-slavery cause, they would assist in its performance, as well as rejoice in the hour of triumph. And when they should do this, they would strengthen the hands and hearts of their white friends. He had no sympathy with the plea that was now made by some, that the coloured people should take their cause into their own hands. He held that the anti-slavery cause was as much the cause of the white man as of the coloured man, for the moment a white man became thoroughly identified with the cause, he was subjected to the same odium and the same insults as the coloured man. He trusted he should live to see the day when the last shackle should fall from the last slave in this country; but he should not see it until greater sacrifices were made by the coloured people—until they should learn to value that which was valuable. A great work was yet before them; and they should resolve to do their duty and if the white man attempted to brow-beat them, let them stand up before him; and if he was determined to drive rough-shod over them and their rights, let them, like the Athenian youth, throw themselves under the wheels of his chariot, resolved rather to die in the spirit of freedom that to live slaves (loud applause).

Some twenty years' experience in the anti-slavery cause had taught him one thing—to try and be satisfied with his native country, believing that truth, right and liberty will yet prevail. It would be a burning shame, after what the coloured people had suffered in this country, if they should turn their backs upon it. They ought rather to remain here, to demand their rights, and testify to all the world that, with the recognition of those rights, they dare do all that other men dare do. There was a time when he took a pride in the patriotism of coloured men in the early history of this country; but he thought now they made a mistake in fighting for the country at that time, and be though that, if there should be a war now, it would be a mistake for the coloured people to take part in it it, except on condition that all their rights were granted to them.

[The morning after the meeting, Mr. Nell received from Mrs. H. B. Stowe an elegant copy of the illustrated edition of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," with the following note:]

"Mrs. Stowe desires to present to Mr. Nell this small addition to the tribute of last evening, regretting that an unfortunate accident prevented its being presented on that occasion.

"May those benefits of education which Mr. Nell has helped to secure for his people bring forth an abundannt harvest.

"Boston, December 18, 1855."

MR. PILLSBURY IN NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

From The Northern (Eng.) Daily Express, Nov. 29.

On Friday evening, Mr. Parker Pillsbury, an active and well-known member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, delivered a very interesting address on the above subject. The occasion was one of the usual monthly meetings of the Ladies' Society for works of charity, in connection with the Unitarian congregation of this town. The ladies of this Society, having contributed largely to the Annual Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar, are very much interested in the progress of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. Pillsbury being in the town on a visit to a friend, was invited to attend their meeting as a representative of that Society. It having been announced that Mr. Pillsbury would attend the meeting, and that it would on this occasion be open to all of either sex, there was a considerable increase on the usual attendance.

The Rev. George Harris, pastor of the congregation, occupied the chair, and, after shortly stating the object of the Ladies' Society, and mentioning some of the works of charity which it had carried on, or assisted (among which was the American Anti-Slavery Society, by sundry, frequent and handsome contributions to their Bazaar), he very heartily, and in terms expressing high personal respect for Mr. Pillsbury, introduced him to the meeting.

Mr. Pillsbury, on rising, expressed his satisfaction that this meeting was not one exclusively anti-slavery in its character and objects; but that it was a meeting of a benevolent association, which had for its chief object the amelioration of the condition of the poor of this country. We are often told, said Mr. Pillsbury, that on this side of the water you neglect your own poor and ignorant to sympathize with the American slaves. But I can and will go home and declare—not from what I have here seen this evening only, but as well from many other circumstances with which I have had the pleasure of becoming acquainted since I came to your country—that those who chiefly aid the American Abolitionists are also those who at home in England are ever the foremost in works of charity and mercy, and who actually lead in all unselfish and philanthropic enterprises. Mr. Pillsbury described the anti-slavery movement as being an exclusively moral and religious movement as being an exclusively moral and religious movement, not a political one; and consequently it was a proper field for the action of foreign philanthropists. He said that the Constitution of the American States made slavery a *State*, and not a national, institution; and, therefore, it cannot be reached by any act of Congress; that, if were Congress composed of only anti-slavery men, it had no power to abolish slavery. It could not go into the States to abolish institutions which existed when the States were admitted into the Union. Mr. Pillsbury declared the Constitution of the United States, in so far as it affected the subject of slavery, to be infamous, and utterly subversive of liberty and human rights. 1st, It gave the slaveholders a right to a representation in Congress on account of *three-fifths of the slaves* in addition to the free population of the slave States. 2d, It allowed them to retake their fugitives in any part of the country. 3d, It permitted them to call on the army and navy of the country to suppress any insurrection which might arise among the slaves. And 4th, It gave them power to continue the African slave trade for twenty years after the formation of the Union. He also showed that the slaveholders always manage to keep the number of the free and slave States nearly equal. So that, as each State has two Senators, and no more, and as the South, on all questions relative to slavery, is sure to be united, no law can ever be passed which the Slave Power of the country may deem hurtful to its interests, while there are many laws enacted with the object of favouring it. From this, Mr. Pillsbury said it would be seen how useless an agent was political action on behalf of abolition principles; and his audience would understand why the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society refused to make use of the ballot-box with the object of advancing their cause. But there was still another reason which justified their conduct in the matter. To take part in the government of the country requires that every officer, high or low, President, Senator, Congressman, or what other office he may fill, shall swear to maintain and administer the Government always in accordance with the articles of the Constitution. Now, as they could not themselves ever take such an oath, neither could they honestly require any to do it on their account. It would thus be seen that political expediency and morality alike made the course which they adopted in abstaining from voting the only one which they could pursue with consistency and effect. Anti-Slavery, therefore, became, of necessity, a purely *moral and religious enterprise*, in which all moral and accountable beings, whether British or American, might properly engage.

Mr. Pillsbury then proceeded to describe the character of the anti-slavery cause. He contrasted the present with the past position of the movement. While, he said, it still required much self-sacrifice and inconvenience, and incurrred much obloquy to maintain the character of a consistent Abolitionist, so much so that he doubted, if his hearers were transported to America, where the anti-slavery atmosphere was very different from what it was in this country, that they would prove themselves any more faithful than was Kossuth and Father Matthew—yet it was, nevertheless, a very different state of things to that which surrounded them during their earlier struggles in this cause. He here gave some account of his own experience as an anti-slavery missionary, which illustrated admirably this part of his address. He also spoke of the mobs and violence which many had encountered, suffering at times great personal injury, and even losing life itself in their courageous prosecution of this cause. In opposition to the improved tone of public feeling in the North, and the numerous accessions which their ranks had of late received, he placed the various advances which had been made by the slaveholders with the object of consolidating and increasing their power. The most famous of their successes had been the *Fugitive Slave Bill*. The provisions of this bill, he said, directly contravened the law of God, and it was, doubtless, as impibus and blasphemous a document as was ever drawn and acknowledged by any body of men. The law of God required us to succour and protect the destitute stranger. The Fugitive Slave law made it perilous to attend to such an injunction. It required that we should refuse to relieve his necessities and that we should betray him again to suffering and bondage. Christ declares that the blessing and reward of the righteous were bestowed for just such a service as the fugitive required at our hands: "I was a stranger, and ye took me in; I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; naked, and ye clothed me." The Fugitive Slave law visits with fine and imprisonment the fulfilment of these merciful precepts, and he hoped therefore, it would not be a matter of wonder to his audience that there were now many men and women at the North who freely declared themselves rebels to its atheistic and diabolical provisions; many, indeed, who had already suffered, and were now suffering, for noble actions done in defiance of it, and which sternly proved their fidelity to the higher law of God. It now is probable that the operation of this law will, in the end, defeat its own object. For its provisions are so glaringly inhuman as to force people to be rebels against its action.

Among the various agencies which were employed in support of slavery, he thought none was more efficient or more active than the *American Church*. He showed, at some length and with much effect, how the various religious sects had, almost without exception, ranged themselves on the side of the Slave Power against the Abolitionists. He mentioned Methodists, Baptists, and others who, by their Missionary, Tract and Bible Societies, as well as by the holding of slaves by their ministers and members, had more or less directly or indirectly been the abettors and associates of American slavery. Even the Unitarians were very often no exception. Those most active in re-capturing slaves in Boston, to be sent back to the horrors of slavery, were members of Dr. Gannett's congregation, and Dr. Gannett, the successor of the late venerated Channing, apologized publicly for the deeds of his parishioners; and Dr. Dewey, one of the most eminent of Unitarian ministers, declared publicly that to save the American Union, he would consign *his own mother to slavery*. We made him ashamed of that, said Mr. Pillsbury, and he afterwards publicly explained or apologized by declaring that he said Brother, and not Mother!! We, in this country, could therefore operate in favour of the abolition movement by regulating our conduct towards the American churches with which we might have connection, so that it should very plainly express to them our sentiments on this question. On several occasions there had been deputations of the most distinguished ministers sent over to this country by various religious bodies in the States. Some years ago, a very important deputation came over to the Convention of the Evangelical Alliance in London. The subject was then discussed and various explanations had to be given by the members of the deputation before they were admitted as members of the Convention. Again, on the occasion of the Free Church of Scotland accepting pecuniary aid from the American churches, considerable feeling was manifested by the people of this country, and a very spirited and general protest was given against the conduct of Dr. Candlish and his coadjutors. And now, at this present time, there is in this country the Rev. Dr. Patten, and the Rev. Dr. Young, as a deputation from the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*. They are here seeking assistance from the churches of this country in aid of their mission in Turkey. This American Board is a long way from being sound as to the question of American slavery; and it is much to be hoped that the religious public of this country will steadfastly refuse coöperation with it, or its agents, until it has effectually purged itself of its present foul condition.

Dr. Greenhow proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer, expressing very strongly his sympathy with the cause, and the feelings of pleasure which he had experienced in listening to the address of Mr. Pillsbury. Many points of the subject had been touched which were quite new to him, and which had given great interest to Mr. Pillsbury's effective and earnest speech.

Dr. Hayle seconded Dr. Greenhow's motion, which he said he did with considerable feeling, for he had himself been a slaveholder. Dr. Hayle's speech was a brief and beautifully-spoken expression of his respect for Mr. Pillsbury, and his strong wishes for the success of the anti-slavery enterprise.

The Chairman, on formally putting the motion, again expressed, in earnest and well-chosen language, the feelings of interest which he felt in the success of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He said his life had been, from youth, devoted to the cause of freedom, in one form or other. He had taken an earnest interest and part in the movement for the abolition of British slavery in the West Indies, in the progress of Catholic Emancipation, and in upholding the rights of religious nonconformity. He trusted that none of those present would fail in coöperating, to the utmost of their power, in the righteous cause which his friend, Mr. Pillsbury, and his coadjutors had espoused, and hitherto so manfully championed.

Mr. Pillsbury, in acknowledging the vote of thanks which had been so heartily accorded, alluded to the Boston Bazaar—thanked the ladies for their noble deeds towards it in time past, and asked a continuation of their sympathy and coöperation. He, also, recommended the circulation of the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, in doing which he paid a high tribute of respect to the late John Bishop Estlin, of Bristol, through whose generous munificence it was established, and who lived to see it become a most valuable anti-slavery agency in this country.

A good number of subscribers were procured at the close of the meeting.

CLOSE OF THE KANSAS INVASION.

Abridged from The Tribune.

We have at last from our intelligent and indefatigable special correspondent in Kansas a full, complete and authentic account of the Treaty concluded between the Free State men of Lawrence and Gov. Shannon, with a copy of that Treaty, which we are the first to make public, and the responsibility for the publication of which we take exclusively upon ourselves.

It is plain from all the circumstances of the case that the Free State leaders were under no necessity of making any terms at all with the Governor. That bitter cold and stormy night, so graphically described by our correspondent—the falling short of the supply of whiskey in the Border Ruffian camp—the withdrawal by the Governor of his further countenance—and the evident conclusion to which all the more intelligent leaders of the invading forces had arrived, that the Lawrence men would fight, and that any attack upon the town would prove a bloody and serious affair—these several coöperating causes would have dispersed the Missouri army, even had the Free State leaders declined to come to any understanding with the Governor.

It is also true, as our correspondent suggests, that the entering into any terms at all with Governor Shannon helps to save the pride and to raise the hopes of the Border Ruffians, and prevents their failure from appearing to themselves and the world so complete and entire as it otherwise would. And what tends to aggravate this is a stipulation which Governor Shannon obtained, by a great deal of urgency, from the Free State Committee with which he treated, and to which they unadvisedly and unwisely acceded, that the precise treaty as entered into should not be published. Of this non-publication the Border Ruffians have, of course, taken advantage to pretend that the Free State men had made great concessions; that they had agreed to submit to the laws of the bogus Legislature, and even to give up their arms. Being in possession of a copy of the treaty, and no party to any promises to Shannon that, for the sake of saving his feelings and to avoid exasperating the Border Ruffians against him, it should not be published, we have no hesitation in placing it before our readers and the country. The terms of it demonstrate the total falsity of this Border Ruffian brag, to which even some of our New York City journals have not hesitated to give currency, and such authentication as their indorsement of it could afford.

The text of this treaty—to which is appended a copy of the authority given by Shannon to Gen. Robinson to repel by force any attack which the Border Ruffians might make upon him—concedes, in fact, nothing whatever so far as the Free State men are concerned. The concessions are all upon the part of Shannon, and on his part, it must be confessed, they are not a little humiliating.

The Free State men agree, of course, to obey the laws. They are and were, and always intend to be, law-abiding men. But they take care to have it inserted in terms in the treaty that they are not to be considered as recognising as law the acts of the bogus Legislature. They recognise the authority of Shannon as Governor, and they agree not to resist the service of legal process; but the only process to which they thus agree to yield is that issuing out of the United States courts; and they take care to provide that any Free State man who shall be arrested shall be admitted to bail.

On the other hand, the concessions of Shannon are ample. He confesses that, in this whole proceeding, he has acted under a mistake. He disavows the entire body of his Missouri allies—that is to say, nine out of ten of the ruffians he had drawn together—and denies that he had ever invited them into the Territory. A lie, no doubt, but on that very account so much more a humiliation to the Governor. And he further stipulates that he will do his best to obtain indemnities for the damages done by the invaders, and that, in any future attempts he may make to enforce the laws, he will invite no more assistance from out of the Territory. Finally, in the paper appended to the treaty, he clothes with the sanction of his approval and authority those very men whom, in his proclamation, he had denounced as rebels in arms to prevent the enforcement of the laws.

On the whole, so far from joining in any censure upon the Free State leaders for entering into these stipulations, we regard it as another instance of the great moderation, prudence and sagacity which they have exhibited throughout the whole affair from first to last. The only thing we have to find fault with is their consenting that the treaty should not be published—and that we have ventured to set right upon our own responsibility.

As the Government of the United States, so very diligent and active in stopping Nicaragua fillibusters, did not lift its finger to put a stop to this fillibustering expedition from Missouri, which was indeed encouraged by the President's ambiguous despatch, and which supplied itself with arms, ammunition and cannon by robbing a United States arsenal—surely, under these circumstances, the very least the United States Government can do is promptly to reimburse to the volunteer defenders of Lawrence—clothed now with the approval and approbation of Governor Shannon himself—all their expenses incurred, with a handsome compensation for their time and trouble. Is it too much to expect that the President will insert in his Message a recommendation to that effect? Should he omit to do so, we hope the House of Representatives will add such a provision as a rider to that clause of the civil approbation bill which provides for the payment of the President's salary.

Is it too much, too, to expect that the President will take instant and effectual means for ferreting out the murderers of Dow and Barber, that Barber whose dead body lay at Lawrence while the negotiation was going on, and whose blood, no less than the tears of his desolate widow, cries aloud for legal interposition?

There is one thing more that Congress can do to show its respect for the gallantry of the Lawrence men. Among other things left behind by the Border Ruffians, in their retreat from their camp on the Wakarusa, was a brass cannon, which they had stolen from the United States arsenal in Clay County, Missouri. While it was in the hands of these robbers and ruffians, no attempt was made by the United States authorities to recover it—at least no effectual attempt—though the fact of the robbery and of the use to which the stolen cannon was put was perfectly notorious. Now that the Border Ruffians have no further use for it, Mr

so disastrous to the interests of the Territory and the Union, and to all parties in a correct position before the world;

Now, Therefore, as it is agreed by the said Governor Shannon, and the undersigned people of Lawrence, now assembled, that the matters in dispute be settled as follows, to-wit:

We, the said citizens of said Territory, protest that the said rescue was made without our knowledge or consent; but if any of our citizens were engaged, we pledge ourselves to aid in the execution of any legal process against them; that we have no knowledge of the previous, present or prospective existence of any organization in the said Territory for the resistance of the laws; and that we have not designed, and do not design, to resist the legal service of any criminal process therein, but pledge ourselves to aid in the execution of the laws, when called on by proper authority, in the Town or vicinity of Lawrence, and that we will use all our influence in preserving order therein; and we declare that we are now, as we ever have been, ready at any time to aid the Governor in securing a posse for the execution of such process. Provided, that any person thus arrested in Lawrence or vicinity, while a foreign force shall remain in the Territory, shall be duly examined before a United States District Judge, of said Territory, in said town, and admitted to bail; and provided, further, that Governor Shannon agrees to use his influence to secure to the citizens of Kansas Territory remuneration for any damages sustained, or unlawful depredation, if any such have been committed by the Sheriff's posse in Douglas County. And further, that Governor Shannon states that he has not called upon persons residents of any other State, to aid in the execution of the laws, and such as are here in this Territory are here of their own choice, and that he has not any authority or legal power to do so, nor will he exercise any such power, and that he will not call on any citizen of another State, who may be here; that we wish it understood that we do not herein express any opinion as to the validity of the enactments of the Territorial Legislature.

WILSON SHANNON,
(Signed) C. ROBINSON,
J. H. LANE.

To Charles Robinson and J. H. Lane: You are hereby authorized and directed to take such measures, and use the enrolled force under your command in such manner, for the preservation of the peace and the protection of the persons and property of the people of Lawrence and vicinity as in your judgment shall best secure that end.

(Signed) WILSON SHANNON.

Lawrence, Dec. 9, 1855.

THE PEACE—ITS CHARACTER AND PROBABLE DURATION.

Monday, Dec. 10, 1855.

We have no wish to utter a word against the *personal* courage of any man or set of men, but we cannot dismiss the conviction that the adjustment which seems to have been made was a mutual concession from mutual fears, and is one of those settlements that will require settling again. The *true* matter in contest is as far from being settled as ever. Both parties now believe that they have achieved something in the settlement, and both parties still feel security in the ultimate result; the one thinking that Kansas must become a free, the other a slave State.

From a variety of sources I have learned that the invaders had the most ominous misgivings as to the result of their attack. There never has been in Lawrence, at any time during the progress of these hostilities, more than 700 or 800 men, and never more than 400 under arms. For my own part, I never saw more than 300 on parade. There are not more than 200 Sharp's rifles in the Territory; the remainder are armed with shot guns, Western rifles, and other nondescript shooting-irons, brought from the East, of every patent that ever tortured the brain of inventor or pleased the fancy of would-be warrior who wanted a gun that would do more than half the battle. And yet it has been quite current in the country, and doubtless in the enemy's camp, that there were 1,200 well-armed men in Lawrence, and the awful stories about Sharp's rifles have risen like myths before the disturbed imaginations of these Missourians. These invaders have been in the habit of rushing into the Territories, almost unchallenged; of voting themselves and of keeping the real citizens from voting, and have been time and again guilty of violence and outrages, and have gone back unmolested. This time they expected to overrun the Territory without opposition; to lynch several of the leaders of the Free State party; to destroy property about Lawrence so that Eastern emigration would be discouraged, and to seize the Sharp's rifles, which they had understood were obtained to protect the ballot-boxes against their lawless incursions. But when they came, they found a people in arms and ready, and desperately determined, to defend their persons, property and rights. I would not hazard an opinion as to how the battle would have gone, had a battle ensued last week as contemplated. The Free State men were unwilling to fight, but I have seen sufficient indications of their grit during the past few days to *know* that many—the great majority of them—would have fought fearlessly and well. As for the Missouri invaders, they were mostly of the more reckless class of citizens, and yet I doubt not that many of them were brave men—that is, as bravery goes. That the fear of a bloody conflict operated on their minds, is certain. However willing they were to exterminate the Yankees, few of them felt inclined to offer themselves as a sacrifice. The most of these men were under pay. I learned from some of them that they got two dollars a day, beside provisions and whiskey, and they also expect to get pay from the Government, although the Governor now repudiates them. The withdrawal of the Governor's authority could not have disbanded them; but the murders that have been committed by them on the Free State men, and their other outrages, disgusted some of the more respectable men among them; and when the Governor's authority was withdrawn, a good number of these left. The remainder were thus weakened in numbers; some of their leaders had gone—the chances of further pay were slim—last night's severe storm had a salutary effect, and, above all, their whiskey had given out, two dollars and a half being paid for a pint of whiskey by one person in the Waukarusa camp on Saturday night. Then their leaders deceived them. They were informed that the Free State men had given up their arms and had made a complete surrender, and with this story, as some apology for their retreat, they commenced to scatter yesterday morning. Some of them rode into Lawrence, and a few drank to the "Union of Free State men and Pro-Slavery." The fact was, they were very anxious to drink to something; but the bitter cause of discord made by the Kansas-Nebraska bill is still a dark spot on the horizon of Kansas.

Governor Shannon is now very friendly with the people here, whom he *finds out* he has misunderstood and permitted to be abused, but, like a prodigal son, he is doing his best to make it up. It is said that the Pro-Slavery people below are threatening awful things, and perhaps, when he goes back to the shadow of the Missouri frontier he may again bend.

TUESDAY, Dec. 13.

Yesterday the volunteer force was disbanded in Lawrence. The camp of the invading Missourians had broken up on Sunday, and, though lingering bands of marauders were scouring the country here and there, frightening the people and occasionally plundering them, it was learned by the scouting parties sent out yesterday that these offscourings of the border were rapidly drifting toward their homes, there to rehearse their exploits or hatch new mischief. On Monday considerable complaint was brought in of the depredations of these lingering detachments, and a strong desire was expressed to fall on some of these parties and visit them with condign punishment; but Gen. Robinson, with his usual foresight and sagacity, desired to avoid collision with these men. The authority he had received from Gov. Shannon would have authorized him to do this; yet he contented himself with sending out well-armed patrols to prevent any of these relics of the invading host from doing mischief, and intimidate them, so that they would be glad to cross the frontiers, but *not* to fight with them. "If you fall on these men," he said, "even if they are scoundrels and acting as such, the slavery Missourians will say 'you attacked a weak party going home,' and we will have another invasion immediately, and there will be bloodshed that nothing can avert." Another instance of this wise forbearance of the Free State men: Col. Lane had learned that the Missourians had been obliged to leave one of their pieces of cannon at the camp at Waukarusa, for a short time, as the carriage was disabled, and he wanted to go and seize the piece. "Do not go," was the command of Robinson, "we have just had a treaty, and we want no more bones of contention. It is a United States gun, and, no matter how *they* got it, we have nothing to do with it." Some grumbled, and said: "These Missourians have murdered some of our friends, and committed great depredations, and yet we have no revenge and they get off." "Have patience," was the sagacious answer, "your wrongs are your strength."

Some of these Border Ruffians are likely to have their hands full when they return, for having plundered the arsenal near Liberty, Mo., and taken a large quantity of arms therefrom. And yet they ran but little risk if they have to be tried before a Judge and Jury in Western Missouri. There are many conservative men in Missouri, but they keep quiet. The bullies rule and corrupt everything.

On Monday night a party was given by the people of Lawrence to the volunteer companies who had come to their aid. The hotel was illuminated and had a fine appearance from the prairie. The rooms were very much crowded. The fair and intelligent ladies of Lawrence turned out. The ladies hereabouts keep so very quiet and attend to their business at home so closely, that I always think there are none of them till they are thus called out by some such occasion. Two of the ladies of Lawrence—Mrs. S. W. Wood and Mrs. G. W. Brown—distinguished themselves by going out of the lines with a buggy and bringing in a considerable amount of ammunition concealed under their garments; and, as the Missouri sentries were gallant enough not to institute a very *strict* search, they got safely in with it.

The people of Lawrence and of Kansas congratulate themselves that all these difficulties are past and that they have seen the last invasion of Kansas by the Border Ruffians. We would like to believe it was so; but we have examined every point in the case, and fear that such a hope is better *toned* than grounded. Pro-Slavery men *have not* abandoned hopes of making Kansas a slave State. The same inveterate policy which repealed the sacred restriction is sleepless and at work. If these marauders retreated without burning Lawrence, it was merely under circumstances which they could not avoid. They had hoped to have a legal excuse for doing so; and when they found themselves outgeneraled, they saw the danger. But their efforts are not in vain. One great policy is, by *continual warlike inroads, to frighten the peaceable Northern and Eastern people of Kansas*; and, by the cry of "Abolitionism," to intimidate the Western settlers; while imitations of the "Emigrant Aid Society," on a Southern plan, will answer their purposes.

Besides all this, the apologies for a quarrel are not removed. The acts of that false Legislature will still be like the stumbling-block that "caused Israel to sin." Both parties think they have the other secured to this, and both will find this subject is one that is still to adjust. If these laws are obeyed, there is no security to elections in Kansas, and this monstrous inroad (for nearly 2,000 invaders have been around Lawrence, if all that have been here since they first began to come and go be counted) is a fearful evidence that an exposed ballot-box gives no security for Freedom. The Pro-Slavery men have got the lead here, and they mean to keep it. Horribly corrupt and fraudulent though the means of obtaining this power have been, it is still recognised, and will be fully sustained, as it has been, by the national executive. The laws of that Legislature are a dead weight on the hopes of freedom; and although their own monstrous iniquity has *almost* killed them, it *has not quite*. The Missourians are determined that these laws shall be enforced, and it is fitting, for they made them. The position of the Free State men is to repudiate these laws: and yet this is thought by all conservative men, here and everywhere, to be *rather* revolutionary—"take a *legal* remedy" is the suggestion. A *legal* remedy! first before a territorial court that is pro-slavery up over the eyes, and then to the United States Supreme Court—and what then? Have not all our courts become pieces of political machinery to a fearful extent?

If the bands of invaders had to be raised from a common population and mustered for the service by false rumours and excitement, I would think that another such crusade would not be so easily raised, as this defeat would discourage them. The real danger, however, is from the secret organization, of which there is a Lodge in every town and village of Western Missouri. These men are under the most solemn obligations—and obligations to crime have their effect on such men as they. The "Lone Star" Order is a cruel bird of prey which hovers over Kansas, ready to pounce upon the Free State men the moment any memb of it may make a false step.

The Border Ruffians left, believing that the Free State men were to give up their arms—that dreaded guard of the ballot-box—and that they would submit to the laws and the officers of the Legislature. This gained, they did not fear for slavery in Kansas. The Free State men *really* got good terms, but not a bit better than they were determined to have. By the good management of Gen. Robinson, a civil war was prevented; but *the great question at issue is not yet settled*, and the brunt of the battle is still to come. Gov. Shannon will, I think, resign. He will either do so or come to Lawrence; and if he does so, he will be removed of course. The fire-eaters talk of presenting him a petticoat at Westport, and certainly they despise him.

From The Tribune of Monday.

REPORT OF GEN. POMEROY.

Gen. Pomeroy arrived in New York last evening from Kansas, having left the lately beleaguered City of Lawrence on the 15th inst., and favoured *The Tribune* with the following statement of the state of affairs in the Territory. Gen. P., it will be remembered, was captured by the Border Ruffians and taken to their camp, where he was kept a close prisoner for four days, till peace was declared. They voted to hang him on a certain day, at a certain hour, but Atchison and some of the other leaders feared that such a course might injure the Democratic party. This did not seem to satisfy the ruffians exactly, and so the leaders hid their distinguished prisoner from sight, and then Atchison made a speech to the crowd, saying that Pomeroy deserved hanging and must be hanged, but that it had better be done according to law, and so they had sent him to Lecompton, where he would be tried for treason and hanged afterward. The ruffians were displeased, swore some, and insisted that the proper course to pursue was to hang him first and try him afterward. Mr. Atchison's talk was intensely warlike till he ascertained that the fight would not be all on one side—that instead of quietly submitting to be slaughtered, the people of Lawrence were determined to defend themselves to the death; then he suddenly cooled down, and had considerable difficulty in pacifying the ragamuffins he had led to the frontier, and inducing them to return home without the taste of blood; and this was effected only by telling them the most egregious lies (in which Gov. Shannon joined), such as that the "Abolitionists" had agreed to abide by the acts of the Bogus Legislature, surrender their arms and every point in issue. But a little incident in regard to the rifle-practice of the Lawrence boys made, perhaps, a more decided impression on the ruffians than the speeches of Atchison and Shannon. One of the Missourians had been over to Lawrence and witnessed a target performance, at which seventy-five men, with Sharp's rifles, fired at a mark (a medium sheet of paper) 19 by 24 inches one mile distant by measurement, and disfigured the sheet with the marks of sixty-two balls. When this was told in the camp at the Waukarusa, the vagabonds, who were armed mostly with shot guns, shrugged their shoulders and rolled up the whites of their eyes. That was a little ahead of anything they had seen out West. This incident, coupled with the fact that rumour and their fears had increased the number of Sharp's rifles in the Lawrence camp to a fabulous figure, did the business for the invaders. They would have been soldiers but for those "vile guns."

The marauders appear to have botched the business they came on quite extensively. They succeeded in stealing sundry cannon, but, when they reached camp, they discovered that they had not stolen the right kind of balls, as they did not fit their guns. They also had two hundred rifles from the State Armory at Jefferson City, but had no balls of any kind for these arms. These rifles are said to have been furnished by the Governor of Missouri, though his friends pretend that they were stolen from the Armory. When they arrived and were being taken from the wagons, Gen. Strickler was overheard to say that the Governor was a d—d fool for mixing up in this matter.

The invading army levied contributions very extensively on the farmers in the vicinity of their camp, taking whatever they could find and happened to want in the way of food and forage, giving orders on Governor Shannon in payment therefor, except where the party levied on happened to be a Free State man, in which case they would give curses instead of an order for coppers. These latter are probably just as well off, as far as remuneration is concerned, as those who receive drafts. The Governor having no funds, of course these farmers will have to whistle a good while for their pay. It is said that drafts of this kind have been issued to the amount of $20,000.

Gen. Pomeroy says the people of Missouri judge the character of travellers by the kind of newspapers they happen to carry; that, to be safe from molestation, one should carry a copy of *The New York Observer, Journal of Commerce, St. Louis Republican*, or some other journal of their stamp. When they meet a traveller, they hail him with "What news? Have you got a paper in your pocket?" And if he exhibits a pro-slavery journal, he is regarded as all right, and permitted to pass on. If he happens to have a copy of *The New York Tribune*, or any other paper which recognises the existence of such a country as the North, he is put down as an "Abolitionist," and treated accordingly.

The Lawrence people had considerable difficulty in importing their brass twelve-pounder. They were obliged to pass through Kansas City; and the forwarding merchant there, Reddlesberger, had received orders not to let anything in the way of merchandise pass on to Lawrence without examination; so he took an axe and knocked a hole in one of the boxes, but, fortunately, it was the one containing the wheels of the gun-carriage, and the old Dutchman said it was only an old wagon, and let it pass. The balls which came with this piece fit it.

Gen. Pomeroy reports the country quiet and likely to remain so for some time, but says the contest is by no means over yet. The Ruffians are determined to have Kansas if they can get it. Gen. P. will remain and lecture to the New England people, on Kansas, for a month or so, and then return to that Territory.

"PEACE! PEACE! WHEN THERE IS NO PEACE!"

LEAVENWORTH, K. T., Dec. 15, 1855.

From the straggling companies I met between Lecompton and Leavenworth I learned the prevailing sentiment with which they recrossed the border. In Lawrence all had been joyful, and it was thought that this discomfiture would prevent another invasion. I had learned too much of the true state of affairs to believe that. The speech made by Stringfellow at the breaking of the camp at Lecompton is a fair indication of the sentiment. I learned the substance of it from these men. The following is a specimen of the language:

"The 'Abolitionists' have come the Yankee over us this time—the Governor has betrayed us. He has betrayed himself, the South, and the whole of the Pro-Slavery party. We had them just where we wanted them, and he spoiled all. Next time we must planfor ourselves."

I conversed with many of these men. I entered Indian houses where they had taken shelter from the rain, and stayed all night at an Indian village where many of them halted, and, while the heavy rain pattered and beat on the roof and walls of the Indian house where I stayed, I listened to their conversation.

They declared that all of the political acts of the Free State men were illegal, and that they could get voters from Missouri enough to control any legal election. They swore with horrid oaths that if Reeder got his seat over Whitfield, they would march over and drive out every d—d "Abolitionist" from Kansas. The determination of the Border Ruffians—and it is well matured and deliberate—is never to allow the Free State men to get the advantage. The time when I shall fear hostilities most is in March next, at which time the machinery of the Free State organization will go into operation; until then, the weather will be very uncertain, and a campaign would be hazardous and severe; but let the people of the Union mark my words: Unless Congress takes some steps to preserve Kansas from these hostile invasions before next Spring, there will be a bloody civil war that will throw the country in a flame, and endanger the Union!!! The wisdom and moderation of Robinson and the Free State men of Lawrence and Kansas Territory have prevented it thus far, but it will come again, and in a shape that no human wisdom or moderation can avert. The Pro-Slavery party will never relinquish Kansas peaceably. Mark it, they will *never* give it up unless there is force sufficient to compel them. They do not care for the Union. It is not the conservative men of the South who are to be feared, but the reckless, unscrupulous Border men, who are banded in a secret organization to accomplish this.

Never did I see a more forlorn and God-forsaken set of wretches than these retreating Missourians. The bitter storms and lack of shelter in their camps had given them that indescribable look of dirty and uncomfortable wretchedness which two weeks of such exposure and deep carousals have a tendency to induce.

To-morrow the people of Kansas are to vote for the new Constitution. All I fear is, that there will be a small vote polled. The weather is now very disagreeable, and, owing to the hostilities, all of the arrangements—the public discussions, the sending of handbills, poll-books, &c.—have been prevented. Everything is left to the people, and at this time I fear that the fact of its being so cannot fail to have a bad effect to some extent.

No attempt has yet been made to bring the murderers of Barber to justice, and I fear that the cold-blooded crime will be winked at by the "Law and Order" party, who have what little law there is and the few false officers in the Territory in their own hands. There is every reason to believe that the intention is to let the outrage pass unnoticed. Coleman, the murderer of Dow, is also at large, and was captain of a company on the Waukarusa. He had the reputation of being a good shot and a reckless villain. What other community, save the law-abiding citizens of the North, would endure these outrages?—and will they always?

SPEECH OF D. R. ATCHISON,

Delivered at Platte City, December 1, 1855.

Reported for The Missouri Democrat.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: We have done our duty. We have done nothing but our duty. Not you—not me—but those that have gone into Kansas to aid Governor Shannon to sustain the law, and put down rebellion and insurrection. 250 men are now on their march, and probably 500 more will go from the County of Platte! Why are you not with them—you and you? I wish that I was with them at their head, but my circumstances will not admit. And now shall they be sustained? It is left for you to say. They may be too late. You have done well—you have done nobly. Yes, they persecuted Platte City, and perhaps it has been persecuted by my living in it. You know my faults and my virtues (if I have any). If I deserve the credit, let me be put on the highest niche of fame (raising his hand high). This excitement, and all that has passed, is charged upon me—let me bear it. Now let me retire to private life; but as I said before, the 250 men are now on their march, and probably 500 will go from the County of Platte. The south and the border counties are waking up. Yes, as far back as Grand River. But we live upon the border—"the Border Ruffians!" What is done must be done quickly. Lexington and Jefferson will send their thousands; and probably 18,000 or 20,000 will, in one week, be on their march. If you are ready, I would like to make one motion, that a committee of three be appointed from each township in the county to solicit aid and to hold themselves in readiness. I wait to hear from you.

Mr. Wilson arose and made a motion that Gen. Atchison take the chair, and Mr. Hollingsworth be Secretary; carried. Atchison arose, holding on to the railing, attempted to appoint men from different parts of the county, but could not recollect all their names—of only a few about Platte City. Much excitement ensued, dinner-bells rang, and the meeting broke up. TRAVELLER.

P. S.—Atchison was with Gov. Shannon on Sunday night; left on Monday, and returned to Platte City to send couriers to different parts of the country to urge on volunteers. He said he should head another company, and cross the Missouri at Delaware that night; that they would attack Lawrence on Wednesday: but a despatch by messenger from Waukarusa on Tuesday night reached Platte City, stated that the attack would be postponed till Tuesday, as the opposing forces were about equal.

We know but very few responsible men who are going; about 150 from Platte, 13 from Weston, and a few from about Parkville. The masses don't stir, and are for peace.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

[This document, which had been kept back for a whole month on account of the failure of the House to organize itself, was communicated to Congress on Monday last, the President declaring that his "convictions of duty" would not permit him to withhold it longer. We subjoin such portions thereof as are directly related to the question of Slavery.]

KANSAS.

In the Territory of Kansas there have been acts prejudicial to good order, but as yet none have occurred under circumstances to justify the interposition of the Federal Executive. That could only be in case of obstruction of Federal law, or of organized resistance to Territorial law, assuming the character of insurrection, which, if it should occur, it would be my duty promptly to overcome and suppress. I cherish the hope, however, that the occurrence of any such untoward event will be prevented by the sound sense of the people of the Territory, who, by its organic law, possessing the right to determine their own domestic institutions, are entitled, while deporting themselves peacefully, to the free exercise of that right, and must be protected in the enjoyment of it, without interference on the part of the citizens of any of the States.

CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I have thus passed in review the general state of the Union, including such particular concerns of the Federal Government, whether of domestic or foreign relations, as it appeared to me desirable and useful to bring to the special notice of Congress. Unlike the great States of Europe and Asia, and many of those of America, these United States are wasting their strength neither in foreign war nor domestic strife. Whatever of discontent or public dissatisfaction exists is attributable to the imperfections of human nature, or is incident to all governments, however perfect, which human wisdom can devise. Such subjects of political agitation as occupy the public mind consist, to a great extent, of exaggeration of inevitable evils, or over-zeal in social improvement, or mere imagination of grievance, having but remote connection with any of the constitutional functions or duties of the Federal Government. To whatever extent these questions exhibit a tendency menacing to the stability of the Constitution, or the integrity of the Union, and no further, they demand the consideration of the Executive, and require to be presented by him to Congress.

Before the Thirteen Colonies became a Confederation of independent States, they were associated only by community of trans-Atlantic origin, by geographical position, and by the mutual tie of common dependence on Great Britain. When that tie was sundered, they severally assumed the powers and rights of absolute self-government. The municipal and social institutions of each, its laws of property and of personal relation, even its political organization, were such only as each one chose to establish, wholly without interference from any other. In the language of the Declaration of Independence, each State had "full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." The several colonies differed in climate, in soil, in natural productions, in religion, in systems of education, in legislation and in the forms of political administration; and they continued to differ in these respects when they voluntarily allied themselves as States to carry on the war of the Revolution.

The object of that war was to disenthrall the United Colonies from foreign rule, which had proved to be oppressive, and to separate them permanently from the mother country; the political result was the foundation of a federal republic of the free white men of the colonies, constituted, as they were, in distinct and reciprocally independent State governments. As for the subject races, whether Indian or African, the wise and brave statesmen of that day, being engaged in no extravagant scheme of social change, left them as they were, and thus preserved themselves and their posterity from the anarchy and ever-recurring civil wars which have prevailed in other revolutionized European Colonies of America.

When the confederate States found it convenient to modify the conditions of their association, by giving to the General Government direct access, in some respects, to the people of the States, instead of confining it to action on the States as such, they proceeded to frame the existing Constitution, adhering steadily to one guiding thought, which was to delegate only such power as was necessary and proper to the execution of specific purposes, or, in other words, to retain as much as possible, consistently with those purposes, of the independent powers of the individual States. For objects of common defence and security, they intrusted to the General Government certain carefully-defined functions, leaving all others as the undelegated rights of the separate independent sovereignties.

Such is the constitutional theory of our Government, the practical observance of which has carried us, and us alone, among modern republics, through nearly three generations of time without the cost of one drop of blood shed in civil war. With freedom and concert of action, it has enabled us to contend successfully on the battle-field against foreign foes, has elevated the feeble Colonies into powerful States, and has raised our industrial productions and our commerce, which transports them, to the level of the richest and the greatest nations of Europe. And the admirable adaption of our political institutions to their objects, combining local self-government with aggregate strength, has established the practicability of a Government like ours to cover a continent with confederate States.

The Congress of the United States is, in effect, that congress of sovereignties which good men in the Old World have sought for, but could never attain, and which imparts to America an exemption from the mutable leagues for common action, from the wars, the mutual invasions and vague aspirations after the balance of power, which convulse from time to time the Governments of Europe. Our cooperative action rests in the conditions of permanent confederation prescribed by the Constitution. Our balance of power is in the separate reserved rights of the States, and their equal representation in the Senate. That independent sovereignty in every one of the States, with its reserved rights of local self-government assured to each by their coequal power in the Senate, was the fundamental condition of the Constitution. Without it the Union would never have existed. However desirous the larger States might be to reorganize the Government so as to give to their population its proportionate weight in the common counsels, they knew it was impossible, unless they conceded to the smaller ones authority to exercise at least a negative influence on all the measures of the Government, whether legislative or executive, through their equal representation in the Senate. Indeed, the larger States themselves could not have failed to perceive that the same power was equally necessary to them, for the security of their own domestic interests against the aggregate force of the General Government. In a word, the original States went into this permanent league on the agreed premises, of exerting their common strength for the defence of the whole, and of all its parts; but of utterly excluding all capability of reciprocal aggression. Each solemnly bound itself to all the others, neither to undertake nor permit any encroachment upon, or intermeddling with, another's reserved rights.

Where it was deemed expedient, particular rights of the States were expressly guaranteed by the Constitution; but, in all things beside, these rights were guarded by the limitation of the powers granted, and by express reservation of all powers not granted, in the compact of union. Thus, the great power of taxation was limited to purposes of common defence and general welfare, excluding objects appertaining to the local legislation of the several States; and those purposes of general welfare and common defence were afterward defined by specific enumeration, as being matters only of corelation between the States themselves, or between them and foreign Governments, which, because of their common and general nature, could not be left to the separate control of each State.

Of the circumstances of local condition, interest and rights, in which a portion of the States, constituting one great section of the Union, differed from the rest and from another section, the most important was the peculiarity of a larger relative coloured population in the Southern than in the Northern States.

A population of this class, held in subjection, existed in nearly all the States, but was more numerous and of more serious concernment in the South than in the North, on account of natural differences of climate and production; and it was foreseen that, for the same reasons, while this population would diminish, and sooner or later cease to exist in some States, it might increase in others. The peculiar character and magnitude of this question of local rights, not in material relations, but still more in social ones, caused it to enter into the special stipulations of the Constitution.

Hence, while the General Government, as well by the enumerated powers granted to it as by those not enumerated, and therefore refused to it, was forbidden to touch this matter in the sense of attack or offence, it was placed under the general safeguard of the Union, in the sense of defence against either invasion or domestic violence, like all other local interests of the several States. Each State expressly stipulated, as well for itself as for each and all of its citizens, and every citizen of each State became solemnly bound by his allegiance to the Constitution, that any person, held to service or labour in one State, escaping into another, should not, in consequence of any law or regulation thereof, be discharged from such service or labour, but should be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour might be due by the laws of his State.

Thus, and thus only, by the reciprocal guaranty of all the rights of every State against interference on the part of another, was the present form of government established by our fathers and transmitted to us; and by no other means is it possible for it to exist. If one State ceases to respect the rights of another, and obtrusively intermeddles with its local interests—if a portion of the States assume to impose their institutions on the other, or refuse to fulfil their obligations to them—we are no longer united, friendly States, but distracted, hostile ones, with little capacity left to common advantage, but abundant means of reciprocal injury and mischief.

Practically, it is immaterial whether aggressive interference between the States, or deliberate refusal on the part of any one of them to comply with constitutional obligations, arise from erroneous conviction or blind prejudice, whether it be perpetrated by direction or indirection. In either case, it is full of threat and of danger to the durability of the Union.

CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS OF SLAVERY.

Placed in the office of Chief Magistrate as the executive agent of the whole country, bound to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and specially enjoined by the Constitution to give information to Congress on the State of the Union, it would be palpable neglect of duty on my part to pass over a subject like this, which, beyond all things at the present time, vitally concerns individual and public security.

It has been matter of painful regret to see States, conspicuous for their services in founding this Republic and equally sharing its advantages, disregard their constitutional obligations to it. Although conscious of their inability to heal admitted and palpable social evils of their own, and which are completely within their jurisdiction, they engage in the offensive and hopeless undertaking of reforming the domestic institutions of other States wholly beyond their control and authority. In the vain pursuit of ends by them entirely unattainable, and which they may not legally attempt to compass, they peril the very existence of the Constitution, and all the countless benefits which it has conferred. While the people of the Southern States confine their attention to their own affairs, not presuming officiously to intermeddle with the social institutions of the Northern States, too many of the inhabitants of the latter are permanently organized in associations to inflict injury on the former by wrongful acts, which would be cause of war as between foreign powers, and only fail to be such in our system because perpetrated under cover of the Union.

It is impossible to present this subject as truth and the occasion require, without noticing the reiterated but groundless allegation that the South has persistently asserted claims and obtained advantages in the practical administration of the General Government to the prejudice of the North, and in which the latter has acquiesced. That is, the States which either promote or tolerate attacks on the rights of persons and of property in other States, to disguise their own injustice, pretend or imagine, and constantly aver, that they whose constitutional rights are thus systematically assailed are themselves the aggressors. At the present time this imputed aggression, resting, as it does, only in the vague, declamatory charges of political agitators, resolves itself into misapprehension or misinterpretation of the principles and facts of the political organization of the new Territories of the United States.

What is the voice of history? When the Ordinance, which provided for the government of the territory north-west of the River Ohio, and for its eventual subdivision into new States, was adopted in the Congress of the Confederation, it is not to be supposed that the question of future relative power, as between the States which retained and those which did not retain a numerous coloured population, escaped notice or failed to be considered. And yet the concession of that vast territory to the interests and opinions of the Northern States, a territory now the seat of five among the largest members of the Union was, in a great measure, the act of the State of Virginia and of the South.

When Louisiana was acquired by the United States, it was an acquisition not less to the North than to the South; for while it was important to the country at the mouth of the River Mississippi to become the emporium of the country above it, so also it was even more important to the whole Union to have that emporium; and although the new province, by reason of its imperfect settlement, was mainly regarded as on the Gulf of Mexico, yet in fact it extended to the opposite boundaries of the United States, with far greater breadth above than below, and was, in territory as in everything else, equally at least an accession to the Northern States. It is mere delusion and prejudice, therefore, to speak of Louisiana as an acquisition in the special interest of the South.

The patriotic and just men who participated in that act were influenced by motives far above all sectional jealousies. It was, in truth, the great event which, by completing for us the possession of the valley of the Mississippi, with commercial access to the Gulf of Mexico, imparted unity and strength to the whole Confederation, and attached together by indissoluble ties the East and the West, as well as the North and the South.

As to Florida, that was but the transfer by Spain to the United States of territory on the east side of the River Mississippi, in exchange for large territory which the United States transferred to Spain on the west side of that river, as the entire diplomatic history of the transaction serves to demonstrate. Moreover, it was an acquisition demanded by the commercial interests and the security of the whole Union.

Meantime, the people of the United States had grown up to a proper consciousness of their strength, and in a brief contest with France, and in a second serious war with Great Britain, they had shaken off all which remained of undue reverence for Europe, and emerged from the atmosphere of those trans-Atlantic influences which surrounded the infant Republic and had begun to turn their attention to the full and systematic development of the internal resources of the Union.

Among the evanescent controversies of that period, the most conspicuous was the question of regulation, by Congress, of the social condition of the future States to be founded in the Territory of Louisiana.

The ordinance for the government of the territory north-west of the River Ohio had contained a provision which prohibited the use of servile labour therein, subject to the condition of the extradition of fugitives from service due to any other part of the United States. Subsequently to the adoption of the Constitution this provision ceased to remain as a law; for its operation as such was absolutely superseded by the Constitution. But the recollection of the fact excited the zeal of social propagandism in some sections of the Confederation; and when a second State, that of Missouri, came to be formed in the territory of Louisiana, proposition was made to extend to the latter territory the restriction originally applied to the country situated between the Rivers Ohio and Mississippi.

Most questionable as was this proposition in all its constitutional relations, nevertheless it received the sanction of Congress, with slight modifications of line, to save the existing rights of the intended new State. It was reluctantly acquiesced in by Southern States as a sacrifice to the cause of peace and of the Union, not only of the rights stipulated by the treaty of Louisiana, but of the principle of equality among the States guaranteed by the Constitution. It was received by the Northern States with angry and resentful condemnation and complaint, because it did not concede all which they had exactingly demanded. Having passed through the forms of legislation, it took its place in the statute book, standing open to repeal, like any other act of doubtful constitutionality, subject to be pronounced null and void by the courts of law, and possessing no possible efficacy to control the rights of the States, which might thereafter be organized out of any part of the original territory of Louisiana.

In all this, if any aggression there were, any innovation upon preexisting rights, to which portion of the Union are they justly chargeable?

This controversy passed away with the occasion, nothing surviving it save the dormant letter of the statute.

But long afterwards, when, by the proposed accession of the Republic of Texas, the United States were to take their next step in territorial greatness, a similar contingency occurred, and became the occasion for systematized attempts to intervene in the domestic affairs of one section of the Union, in defiance of their rights as States, and of the stipulations of the Constitution. These attempts assumed a practical direction in the shape of persevering endeavours by some of the Representatives, in both Houses of Congress, to deprive the Southern States of the supposed benefit of the provisions of the act authorizing the organization of the State of Missouri.

But, the good sense of the people, and the vital force of the Constitution, triumphed over sectional prejudice, and the political errors of the day, and the State of Texas returned to the Union as she was, with social institutions which her people had chosen for themselves, and with express agreement, by the reannexing act, that she should be susceptible of subdivision into a plurality of States.

Whatever advantages the interests of the Southern States, as such, gained by this, were far inferior in results as they unfolded in the progress of time, to those which sprang from previous concessions made by the South.

To every thoughtful friend of the Union; to the true lovers of their country; to all who longed and laboured for the full success of this great experiment of Republican institutions, it was cause of gratulations that such an opportunity had occurred to illustrate our advancing power on this continent and to furnish to the world additional assurance of the strength and stability of the Constitution. Who would wish to see Florida still a European Colony? Who would rejoice to hail Texas as a lone star, instead of one of the galaxy of States? Who does not appreciate the incalculable benefits of the acquisition of Louisiana? And yet narrow views and sectional purposes would inevitably have excluded them all from the Union.

But another struggle on the same point ensued, when our victorious armies returned from Mexico, and it devolved on Congress to provide for the Territories acquired by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The great relations of the subject had now become distinct and clear to the perception of the public mind, which appreciated the evils of sectional controversy upon the question of the admision of new States. Ir that crisis intense solicitude pervaded the nation. But the patriotic impulses of the popular heart, guided by the admonitory advice of the Father of his Country, rose superior to all the difficulties of the incorporation of a new empire into the Union. In the counsels of Congress there was manifested extreme antagonism of opinion and action between some representatives, who sought, by the abusive and unconstitutional employment of the legislative powers of the Government, to interfere in the condition of the inchoate States and to impose their own social theories upon the latter; and other representatives, who repelled the interposition of the General Government in this respect, and maintained the self-constituting rights of the States. In truth the thing attempted was, in form alone, action of the General Government, while in reality it was the endeavour, by abuse of legislative power, to force the ideas of internal policy entertained in particular States upon allied independent States. Once more the Constitution and the Union triumphed signally. The new Territories were organized without restrictions on the disputed point, and were thus left to judge in that particular themselves; and the sense of constitutional faith proved vigorous enough in Congress not only to accomplish this primary object, but also the incidental and hardly less important one of so amending the provisions of the statute for the extradition of fugitives from service as to place that public duty under the safeguard of the General Government, and thus relieve it from obstacles raised up by the legislation of some of the States.

Vain declamation regarding the provisions of law for the extradition of fugitives from service, with occasional episodes of frantic effort to obstruct their execution by riot and murder, continued for a brief time to agitate certain localities. But the true principle of leaving each State and Territory to regulate its own laws of labour according to its own sense of right and expediency had acquired fast hold of the public judgment to such a degree that, by common consent, it was observed in the organization of the Territory of Washington.

When, more recently, it became requisite to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, it was the natural and legitimate, if not the inevitable, consequence of previous events and legislation, that the same great and sound principal, which had already been applied to Utah and New Mexico, should be applied to them; that they should stand exempt from the restrictions proposed in the act relative to the State of Missouri.

These restrictions were, in the estimation of many thoughtful men, null from the beginning, unauthorized by the Constitution, contrary to the treaty stipulations for the cession of Louisiana, and inconsistent with the equality of the States.

They had been stripped of all moral authority, by persistent efforts to procure their indirect repeal through contradictory enactments. They had been practically abrogated by the legislation attending the organization of Utah, New Mexico and Washington. If any vitality remained in them, it would have been taken away in effect by the new Territorial acts, in the form originally proposed to the Senate at the first session of the last Congress. It was manly and ingenuous as well as patriotic and just to do this directly and plainly, and thus relieve the statute book of an act which might be of possible future injury, but of no possible future benefit; and the measure of its repeal was the final consummation and complete recognition of the principle that no portion of the United States shall undertake, through assumption of the powers of the General Government, to dictate the social institutions of any other portion.

The scope and effect of the language of repeal were not left in doubt. It was declared, in terms, to be "the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

The measure could not be withstood upon its merits alone. It was attacked with violence on the false or delusive pretext that it constituted a breach of faith. Never was objection more utterly destitute of substantial justification. When before was it imagined by sensible men that a regulative or declarative statute, whether enacted ten or forty years ago, is irrepeal

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, December 31st.

HERE is the last day of the year, and Congress, though it has been trying for a month, is not yet organized. The Clerk (Forney, the notorious) acts as a sort of presiding officer, and what order is observed is due to the mutual forbearance of the members. I do not know but that they have got on just as well as if they had had a Speaker. New members had to make their *debut*, and doubtful ones to define their position; party lines had to be drawn—things generally to crystallize into shape; and this could just as well be done on the motion to elect a Speaker as on any other question. I am inclined to think that there has been less harm done this last month, and that the country is better off, than if the House had been duly organized. Thus far the Pennsylvania delegation has occupied quite a prominent place in the proceedings of the House. One of our members appears as a candidate for the Speakership, another as leader of the Administration party, and a third as the author of a new method of settling the slavery question.

Mr. Fuller is the candidate for the Speakership. He is from the Luzerne district, and was elected as an anti-Nebraska Know-Nothing. But he had not been long in his place till he began to coquet with the South for the Speaker's chair. This he did for awhile under the rose and without exciting the suspicions, or at least without losing the confidence, of his colleagues; but, finding that he made slow progress toward the goal of his ambition by operations in secret, he struck out boldly and made an open bid for the Southern vote. He declared himself in favour of admitting new States into the Union with or without slavery, opposed to the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line, and against all agitation of the slavery question. This elicited warm compliments from the Southern men, but it brought him no new votes from that quarter; while Todd, of the Carlisle district, declared that if he had known that such were the sentiments of his colleague, he would have let his right hand wither in its socket rather than have cast a vote for him. Mr. Edie expressed himself to the same effect, and both these gentlemen forthwith transferred their support to Mr. Banks. Mr. Fuller still stands as the candidate of the pro-slavery Whigs and "Twelfth section" Know-Nothings, but he has dashed his political brains out, and will hereafter be classified among the unprincipled doughfaces. He will be "of no account," as aunt Chloe said of the Lincolns, after this election is over.

J. Glancy Jones, from the Berks County district, is the member who enjoys the honour of being leader in the House for the Administration. He is a man of talent and a good debater, but ultra pro-slavery in his view of the power of Congress over the Territories—so ultra, indeed, as that Clingman, of North Carolina, took occasion to say that he differed from the gentleman of Pennsylvania in the extreme view he took of the want of power in the people of the Territories to prohibit slavery before presenting themselves for admission into the Union. This is the trait in Mr. Jones's character, however, which qualifies him chiefly for the prominent place he occupies in his party.

Mr. Broome, the new member from the IVth district of this City, is the discoverer of the new method of settling existing difficulties growing out of the slave question. This method is the novel one of *compromise*, and a compromise which, like all preceding expedients of that kind, would surrender everything to the slaveholders. It is that Congress should submit to the Judges of the United States Supreme Court (consisting, be it remembered, of five slaveholders and four pro-slavery men) three questions concerning the right of slaveholders to take their slaves into the Federal Territories and the right of Congress to establish or inhibit slavery in those Territories, and all agree to be governed and concluded by the extra judicial Opinion which those Justices should pronounce. Mr. Greeley, alluding to this proposition, shows the faith he has in the Supreme Court by saying he "would rather trust a dog with his dinner." The proposition was received with a laugh, and the new National Know-Nothing took his seat greatly reduced in dimensions. It is generally understood that Mr. Broome will never set the river on fire.

Mr. Millward brought himself before the House, and before the people, by the discovery of a "mare's nest." His colleague, Mr. Pearce, a new member, had asked him "how he would like to be chairman of the Engraving Committee," and had said "a good thing might be made of it"; and Mr. Millward, choosing to take him literally, gave his virtue an airing by hauling his facetious colleague before the House and charging him with an attempt at bribery. Florence and others of that kidney tried to turn the affair to party account, by crying "shame!" but the House refused to be indignant, and only laughed, and Mr. Millward had his labour for his pains. A friend at my elbow, one of Mr. Millward's constituents and one who has had opportunities of knowing him, suggests that if Pearce had been in earnest, and had adduced satisfactory proof that "a good thing could really be made of it," enough would have been said, Banks would have had Mr. Millward's vote, and the House would never have heard a word about the attempted bribery. Mr. Millward, though a representative of the IIId district of Philadelphia, is originally a Delaware man, and is or was a slaveholder in the right of his wife. A very proper person he is for a "Twelfth section," National Know-Nothing.

Mr. Tyson, of this city, was one of the gentlemen who turned from Fuller after the development of character made by that member; and since that time he has been voting for Mr. Banks: though there was some complaint in the papers, on Saturday, that his vote had been wanting in one or two critical ballots. It is to be hoped that this was the result of some cause susceptible of a satisfactory explanation, and that it indicated no swerving of original purpose. Mr. Tyson has not enjoyed a flattering reputation with the liberal people of his district. He is regarded as a retrogressive conservative, and as a very old fogy. His conduct at Washington, thus far, however, has been satisfactory, and it is to be hoped that at this critical juncture of affairs he will show himself worthy of the position he occupies. If he should exceed his antecedents as far as did his cautious predecessor, he will, without going very far, to be sure, do much to commend himself to the good-will of the best of his constituents.

Mr. Hickman, of Chester County, has excited a good deal of disquietude among his friends by his course in voting for Richardson for Speaker. Mr. Hickman is a Democrat who was sent from a strong anti-slavery Whig district by the aid of Know-Nothing and anti-Nebraska votes. He was sent as an anti-Nebraska man; and yet, from the day he took his seat down to this hour, he has been voting steadily with the pro-slavery men and slaveholders, for the leader of the Nebraska forces, Richardson, for Speaker. Mr. Hickman may not choose to regard his action in this matter as a test of his soundness upon the general question, but other people do so regard it, and they speak of it accordingly. It is said that he will show himself all right when the question comes up on the admission of Reeder, and it is to be hoped that the event will justify the statement, but it will require something more than that to vindicate his consistency in acting with the men who are now labouring to exclude Reeder from his seat and make Kansas a slave State. The constituency which sends Mr. Hickman to Congress is one of the most thoroughly anti-slavery in the State, and it is to be earnestly hoped that they will yet find in their delegate a man who will properly represent their sentiments.

David Barclay, a new member from the interior, who was elected as an anti-Nebraska Democrat, has also been voting for Richardson, and it would seem from a speech he has been making that he is ready to go the full length of his party in favour of slavery.

Mr. Todd, of Carlisle, is a man of a different stamp. He has kept his pledges, and has acted thus far with entire consistency, and self-respect. It is refreshing to have for once a democrat that is a democrat sent to Congress from "old mother Cumberland."

The other new members from this State have pursued a course in conformity with what was expected of them. Bradbury, Roberts, Kunkel, Campbell, Grow, Robison, Covode, Knight, Ritchie, Purviance, Allison and Dick, have all voted steadily for Banks.

John Cadwallader, of course, supports Richardson. He made a speech which I have heard described by one of his political associates as a very effective one for a maiden effort, but which is thus noticed by a correspondent of one of your Democratic papers:

"Cadwallader, who was once the counsel of the United States Bank, is now a rampant advocate of the vested rights of our Southern brethren. He argues in a gentlemanly, lawyer-like way, and with a shrill, childish treble, quite befitting the sophistries by which he would delude his hearers."

On the whole, we have not a bad delegation in Congress, all things considered. A few years ago, a great majority of our members were either pro-slavery men or doughfaces; now, nineteen out of the twenty-five are sent there as avowed anti-slavery men, and most of them thus far bear the test of trial pretty satisfactorily. This shows progress. Who knows, if your geographical position were the same as ours, with upwards of 300 miles of slave border, and a larger resident slaveholding population than any other Free State, that the State of New York would be a whit less pro-slavery than Pennsylvania?

Judge Kane made return to Passmore Williamson's writ for false imprisonment, of which I wrote to you some time ago, that the act complained of was performed in his Judicial capacity, as Judge of the United States District Court; that the prosecutor and himself were both residents of the city of Philadelphia, and that the rights of suitors and public business would suffer by his attendance at the trial in another County; and, moreover, that there was an informality in the writ (the informality consisting in the insertion by the Prothonotary of the redundant words "upon the case"); and upon these grounds he moved (by his attorney, Joseph R. Morris, Esq., of Media) that the proceedings in the case be quashed; whereupon, Mr. Williamson's attorney (Joseph S. Lewis, Esq., of West Chester) moved for leave to amend the writ. Both motions were to be argued on the 27th inst., but in the meantime, on the 19th instant, Mr. Williamson, to make assurance doubly sure, and to avoid all ground of cavil, had another writ served upon the Judge, which is returnable on the fourth Monday of February, at which time the same answer and motion—excepting the reference to verbal informality—will, probably, be made as was made before. It is said that the Judge contemplates an application to the Legislature for an act changing the *venue* of the case from Media to this city; but this hardly seems probable. A motion of that kind in our Assembly would lead to a very interesting and instructive debate.

The lecture delivered in Concert Hall, on the 19th, by John P. Hale, was listened to with the liveliest satisfaction by a large audience. His subject was the "Trial by Jury," and his manner of treating it was highly instructive and entertaining, and gave the fullest satisfaction.

Theodore Parker delivers the next lecture, which will be on Tuesday evening, the 8th January. We are anticipating, in view of the importance of the juncture and the ability of the speaker, a discourse of surpassing power. On the 16th we are to have Jane Elizabeth Jones, of Salem, Ohio, one of the ablest of all the female advocates of the anti-slavery reform.

To-morrow our State Legislature meets, and one of the first things that will be done will be the election of a Senator; a pseudo-Democrat, of course, will be chosen. This comes of the Know-Nothings' folly last Winter, of refusing to let any one be elected but Simon Cameron.

You will see by the President's Message, which is just out, and which Pierce had the impudence to send to the House before it was organized, that the people have been all wrong as to who have been the aggressors and who the sufferers in the controversy between the North and South. The facts are just the reverse of what is the popular belief, and may be thus stated: Passmore Williamson imprisoned Judge Kane; the beligerent people of Kansas invaded the peaceable borders of Missouri; the authorities of Pennsylvania imprison free citizens of South Carolina on account of their complexion; the merchants of Massachusetts refuse to trade in the productions of Virginia, and the people of New York make bonfires of Southern letters and newspapers taken from the United States mail. Is it not all written (by inference) in the President's great manifesto? If Mr. Pierce should not be the unanimous choice of the South for the next Presidential term, it will not be because they can ever hope to find elsewhere a more willing or abject tool.

M.

DOING THE DEVIL'S WORK.—The Rev. J. P. Durbin, D.D., one of the great lights of the Northern Methodist Church and the chosen head of her missionary operations, in order to defeat the movement now making in that Church to exclude slaveholders from the communion, has come out with an ingenious and learned argument to prove that persons who held their fellow-men as chattels were admitted to the Apostolic Churches; the inference from that alleged fact being that *American* slaveholders, in the middle of the nineteenth century, may be and often are worthy of Christian fellowship! And yet this Rev. apologist for the "sum of all villanies" takes credit to himself for being tremendously opposed to slavery, and admits that no one can have "a natural or moral right to hold a human being in bondage." What is this but the logic of Bedlam—the confusion of Babel confounded? Of what avail is it to be theoretically on the side of justice and liberty, while, practically, he is doing the very work which slaveholders, slave-traders and their abettors desire to have done, and which, above everything else, tends to rivet more firmly the fetters of the slaves?

Zion's Herald, we are glad to see, impeaches the historic accuracy and effectually demolishes the argument of this clerical champion of oppression. To his admission that "there is not a single passage in the New Testament, nor a single act in the records of the early Church, expressive of approbation of slavery," it most pertinently responds thus: "How can this be true, if the early Church received slavery into her bosom by admitting slaveholders to her fellowship? Can a Church give stronger practical sanction to crime than to admit a known criminal to her communion?" Again: "If neither God nor nature gave the slaveholder the right to hold a human being in bondage, on what principle of rectitude or consistency could the Church admit him to her communion?" To Dr. Durbin's allegation that the Apostles recognised and sanctioned the relation of master and slave by prescribing duties to each, it replies: "The Church recognises no moral duties but repentance as springing out of the relation of master and slave, any more than she recognises moral duties as springing out of the relation of an adulterer to an adulteress. Moral duties grow out of rightful relations, whose claims wage everlasting war against the false claims of wrong ones. The Apostles recognised the relation of *servitude*, and presented its duties because it is a right relation; but they nowhere prescribe a moral precept founded on the alleged right of one man to hold property in another." And again: "If the reader can understand the meaning and grasp the purpose of Dr. Durbin, his perceptive powers are better than ours. To us they are full of confused statement. They make the primitive Church glaringly inconsistent with herself. They teach that she allowed her members to practice that which her principles avowedly condemned; that she *talked* of justice, equality and brotherhood, but winked at injustice, chattelship, and tyranny in her *practice*; that she sought to destry slavery in the *future* by tolerating it in the *present*; that she subjected the fundamental doctrines of equality to the law of the state, and that, in a word, her policy was to promote *freedom* by tolerating *slavery*. Such a jumble of contradictions certainly never fell from Dr. Durbin's pen before."

The Christian Advocate and Journal, of this city, which promptly published Dr. Durbin's argument, and which is constantly taxing its ingenuity to support his positions will never permit its readers to see the *Herald's* reply.

KANSAS.—We devote no small share of our space this week to the history of the late warlike demonstrations in Kansas, which, it will be seen, have ended in the retirement from the field, by order of Gov. Shannon, of the horde of ruffians which his proclamation had called together. The history of the affair is exceedingly interesting, and will not fail to command the attention of our readers.

It must not be supposed, for a moment, that the danger of the establishment of slavery in Kansas is ended in this partial and temporary triumph of the Free State party. The struggle is only just begun, and will not reach its final issue for some time to come. While we are writing, the telegraph brings us intelligence that the election for the adoption of the Free State Constitution on the 15th of December was disturbed by another invasion from Missouri. At Leavenworth the ballot-boxes were seized and destroyed, and the Free State party awed into subjection. We have no room for particulars.

THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE assembled at Albany on Tuesday. The Republicans elected the officers of the Senate by one majority, while the House, like that at Washington, has been unable to choose a Speaker. The parties (in the last ballot) stood thus: Know-Nothings 45; Republicans 35; Hards 28; Softs and scatterings 21. The political skein was never so tangled before, and it is impossible to predict the final result.

THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE assembled on Wednesday. The Know-Nothings elected their candidates in both branches. In the Senate—E. C. Baker, President; P. L. Cox, Clerk. In the House—Dr. Charles A. Phelps, Speaker. In the latter body the Know-Nothings have 164, the Republicans 60, the Whigs 65, the Democrats 20.

THE LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA was organized on Tuesday. Wm. M. Pratt and Richardson L. Wright were elected Speakers of the Senate and House respectively. The Governor's message was delivered on Wednesday.

From Our Kansas Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, Dec. 9, 1855.

MESSRS. EDITORS: Ere this you have doubtless learned of our danger, and probably of the happy termination of our difficulties. When I came to Kansas, little did I dream of ever becoming a soldier, but stern fate has driven me into the ranks of the Non-Resistant *corps de reserve*, who are to fight at the last extremity. Not until the war had existed for ten days did I arm myself, and then only in consequence of becoming convinced that we had not human beings to contend with. I always believed it was right to kill a tiger, and our invaders are nothing but tigers. Christ says, "If a *man* smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also." These Missourians are not men. I have always considered that, bad as they were, they had an infinitessimal spark of divinity in them; but after hearing the screams of the wife and mother of the murdered Barber, and witnessing his lifeless form locked in the cold embrace of death, for no other crime than because he was a Free State man, I made up my mind that our invaders were wild beasts and it was my duty to aid in killing them off. When I live with men made in God's image, I will never shoot them; but these pro-slavery Missourians are demons from the bottomless pit, and may be shot with impunity. I allude now only to those who have made war upon us, for no crime in the world. All they formally demanded of us was the surrender of Sharp's rifles, which they knew, of course, we would not comply with.

From facts that have come to light, it is clear to my mind that the murder of Dow and the seizure of Branson were premeditated acts, designed as the commencement of a war that should end in driving us from the Territory.

General Pomeroy says that, eight weeks ago, he overheard some of them laying their plans, and agreeing to wait until navigation closed. Many persons think that it is a movement of Atchison, to establish a Southern Confederacy. I myself am of the opinion that the object of the war is to prevent the adoption of our State Constitution. I have always been opposed to the movement, as I already have informed you, and now am satisfied that, without Congress admits us, we can never sustain a State Government. Still, I do not wish Congress to admit us, because, if it does, it will bolster up the Democratic and injure the Republican party. In my opinion, we had far better remain out of the Union for years than do anything to uphold Pierce's dynasty, as we assuredly will by being admitted now as a free State. But, whether we are admitted into the Union or not, the result of this war will be, in some respects, favourable to the Free State cause. It has convinced the Missourians that their leaders are not to be believed, and that the Yankees are not cowards. Dr. Woods, of this place, has told them that we would not fight, and they professed to believe it until they came here and saw our fortifications, when they began to talk of peace. Much as they boast, they are like the dogs whose bark is worse than their bite. The news that we had 2,500 men and six brass cannon, and several strong forts, damped their ardour considerably. Our salvation is owing to Sharp's rifles and our ingenuity in inventing wonderful stories as to our strength. Even Governor Shannon had been deceived by these impressions, and actually believed we had 2,200 men, when, in reality, we never had much over 500, and only one cannon. The Governor has come quite over to us, and is now advising us how to defeat the banditti that still prowl around us. To-day he and Sheriff Jones have been treated to as much liquor as they wanted by our Colonel, and all hands have had glorious times over the victory. To-morrow we have a general jubilee and the troops are to be disbanded.

What would you say to live every moment in expectation of an attack from a force three times as large as ours, and from different points of the compass? This force was armed with splendid swords stolen from the Missouri arsenal, with bowie-knives and rifles. They had hoisted the black-flag and swore that, when the fight commenced, no quarter would be given. The idea every moment of being cut into inch pieces by these tigers was anything but pleasant. To sleep, expecting to be aroused any hour by the beating of the drum to call us into deadly conflict, is not exactly so fine a thing as one might suppose. But this is just the condition that we have been in for nearly a fortnight, and we are not yet extricated from it, although peace has been declared. While writing this very sentence I left my paper and rushed out of doors at the beat of the drum, supposing it was the signal that the enemy had attacked us. But dangerous as is, and has been, our situation, we bear it manfully. All hands had made up their minds to die at their posts rather than to surrender. Our rifles would have saved us from being taken, I think; but many of us would have been killed, if attacked, and all of us would have been starved out, after a very short siege, unless reinforcements had speedily arrived. My opinion of the courage of the Yankees has increased wonderfully. I do not believe a single man or woman would have fled. Some of the women were armed with pistols, hatchets and butcher-knives; and two of them actually brought fifty pounds of powder into our camp from the immediate vicinity of the enemy. If we could have certainly known that you Eastern people would have come to our relief, or even would have avenged our death, we might have consented to be cut into inch pieces for the sake of the cause. But when you all prefer the *ignis fatuus* of Know-Nothingism to sound Republicanism, how can we rely upon you for help? Send us an army to back us up, and we will be the first to die for the sake of abolishing slavery.

Governor Shannon has virtually come over to our side. He has acknowledged his error in issuing his Satanic proclamation, and promised to do all in his power to have us remunerated for our expenses. He has ordered back his forces, and they have returned. I suppose you will condemn the compromise, but it would not have been made if we could have certainly known that Massachusetts and the Western States would have appeared to our relief. As it is, there is a proviso in the agreement that saves our honour. It declares that nothing in the instrument is to be understood to express an opinion in regard to the validity of the laws of our Legislature. The most that can be made of the compromise is, that it gives the Missourians an opportunity to say that they have conquered the d—d Yankees, as they did say until the latter clause was mentioned to them, when they raved furiously, declaring that Shannon was a traitor and they would hang him.

What will Pierce do? Is there no Northern man to be trusted with our Governorship? Perhaps Loring or Kane would volunteer their services to head this bottomless pit banditti? Poor Shannon, he mistook popular sentiment at first, the same as Colonel Lane, but he has at length followed Reeder and Lane, and joined us.

Much dissatisfaction existed at first in reference to this arrangement. It would have been easy, in a very few minutes, to have gotten up a meeting against the council; but when it was fully explained to the men, they began to acquiesce in it. It is a sort of "sop for Cerberus" after all, but does not entirely compromise our honour. Atchison, it is said, swears he will yet have vengeance upon us; but some persons say he advised the disbanding of the army. However, our guard is made unusually strong to-night, for the Governor tells us we may be attackad by the disbanded soldiery.

Dec. 11.—All is now quiet. The army is disbanded, after the enrollment of the soldiers as U. S. militia. We expect to draw pay from Uncle Sam for this war. Our jubilee was crowded, and we feel as if delivered from the crater of a terrible volcano that was about to burst upon us. O may God deliver us from living over again what we have experienced for the last fortnight. Now that we are safe, we are willing to admit what a desperate condition we were in. When will men be governed by wisdom and not rush into difficulties from which they cannot extricate themselves? But, no. Dreadful as has been our danger, many of our party are for rushing into this State Constitution business, which cannot otherwise than prove our ruin. Do lift up a warning voice against this step, if you have any regard for us. Please publish what I said about Lane, for it is quite necessary that the country should understand him, so as to know who it is that favours this movement. Oppose the State Constitution movement, if you love Kansas. More anon. Yours, in haste,

C. STEARNS.

THE PHILADELPHIA PLEDGES.—J. M. McKim writes to us as follows:

"The list of Pledges and Cash received at the Philadelphia meeting, which was published in last week's STANDARD, needs a word of explanation. The printer followed copy rather too closely in some respects and not enough so in others. If he had omitted the collector's memoranda, enclosed in brackets, and had inserted the heading, CASH, over the latter half of the column, beginning with the name of Thomas Hambleton, the list would have better answered its purpose. To prevent misunderstanding the donations in cash made at this meeting, not including pledges subsequently paid, will be found acknowledged in the Treasurer's report herewith sent." This report will be found in another column.

We must add, in justice to our printers, that the copy in this case was hard to follow—almost as hard as the "road to Jordan."

THE LIBERTY BELL FOR 1856.

THE appearance again of this valuable and pleasant book, which, for so many years, constituted almost the whole anti-slavery literature of the country, out of newspapers, will be welcome to all the old-line Abolitionists. It is enough to say of it, and it is saying a good deal, that it is in no way inferior to its predecessors. Among the contributors to its pages we observe the names of Mrs. Child, Mrs. Chapman, Mrs. Follen, Mrs. Stowe, Quincy, Garrison, James Freeman Clarke, Charles Francis Adams, and other well-known and distinguished writers at home and abroad. We copy this splendid poem by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, with which the book opens, as a specimen.

A CURSE FOR A NATION.

BY ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

PROLOGUE.

I HEARD an angel speak last night,
And he said "Write!
Write a nation's curse for me,
And send it over the western sea."

I faltered, taking up the word—
"Not so, my lord!
If curses must be, choose another
To send thy curse against my brother.

For I am bound by gratitude,
In love and blood,
To brothers of mine across the sea,
Who have stretched out kindly hands to me."

"Therefore," the voice said, "shalt thou write
My curse to-night!
From the summits of love a curse is driven,
As lightning from the tops of heaven."

"Not so!" I answered. "Evermore
My heart is sore
For my own land's sins! for the little feet
Of children bleeding along the street.

For parked-up honours, that gainsay
The right of way!
For almsgiving through a door that is
Not open enough for two friends to kiss.

For an oligarchic parliament,
And classes rent.
What curse to another land assign,
When heavy-souled for the sins of mine?"

"Therefore," the voice said, "shalt thou write
My curse to-night!
Because thou hast strength to see and hate
An ill thing done within thy gate."

"Not so!" I answered once again—
"To curse, choose men;
For I, a woman, have only known
How the heart melts and the tears run down.

"Therefore," the voice said, "shalt thou write
My curse to-night!
There are women who weep and curse, I say,
(And no one marvels) night and day.

And thou shalt take their part to night—
Weep and write!
A curse from the depths of womanhood
Is very salt, and bitter, and good."

So thus I wrote, and mourned indeed,
What all may read;
And thus, as was enjoined on me,
I send it over the western sea.

THE CURSE.

I.

Because ye have broken your own chain
With the strain
Of brave men climbing a nation's height,
Yet thence bear down with chain and thong
On the souls of others—for this wrong
This is the curse—write!

Because ye prosper in God's name,
With a claim
To honour in the whole world's sight,
Ye do the fiend's work perfectly
On babes and women—for this lie
This is the curse—write!

II.

Ye shall watch while kings conspire
Round the people's smouldering fire,
And, warm for your part,
Shall never dare—O shame!
To utter the thought into flame
Which burns at your heart.
This is the curse—write!

Ye shall watch while nations strive
With the bloodhounds—die or survive—
Drop faint from their jaws,
Or throttle them backward to death,
And only under your breath
Shall ye bless the cause.
This is the curse—write!

Ye shall watch while strong men draw
The nets of feudal law
To strangle the weak;
Ye shall count the sin for a sin,
But your soul shall be sadder within
Than the word which ye speak.
This is the curse—write!

Ye shall watch while rich men dine,
And poor men hunger and pine
For one crust in seven;
But shall quail from the signs which present
God's judgment as imminent
To make it all even.
This is the curse—write!

When good men are praying erect
That God may avenge his elect
And deliver the earth,
The prayer in your ears, said low,
Shall sound like the tramp of a foe
That's driving you forth.
This is the curse—write!

When wise men give you their praise,
They shall pause in the heat of the phrase,
And sicken afar;
When the boast your own charters kept true,
Ye shall blush!—for the thing which ye do
Derides what ye are.
This is the curse—write!

When fools write taunts on your gate,
Your scorn ye shall somewhat abate
As ye look o'er the wall;
For your conscience, tradition and name
Strike back with a deadlier blame
Than the worst of them all.
This is the curse—write!

Go! while ill deeds shall be done,
Plant on your flag in the sun
Beside the ill-doers;
And shrink from clenching the curse
Of the witnessing universe
With a curse of yours!
This is the curse—write!

Florence, Italy, 1854.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE PANORAMA OF LIFE AND LITERATURE. Conducted by E. LITTELL. Vol. I.—July to December, 1855. Boston: Littell, Son & Co. Pp. 860.

The six successive monthly numbers composing this goodly volume have already been brought to the notice of our readers. A fresh inspection of their contents serves but to confirm the favourable judgment we have heretofore expressed. The volume contains a variety of articles of leading interest, besides Tales, Poetry, Biography, Voyages, Travels, &c., selected with rare good judgment from the best British and American magazines and periodicals—the whole forming a collection worthy of preservation in any family library. The price of the work for a year (comprising two volumes like the one before us) is only $3 in advance, the publisher sending it post free.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 604, contains an exceedingly interesting paper, from the London *Quarterly*, on "Pitt and Fox," being a review of Lord John Russell's "Memorials and Correspondence" of the last named of these two eminent statesmen. Filling forty pages, it is only too short to satisfy the appetite of the intelligent American reader.—No 605 opens with a critique of Fielding and Thackeray—especially of the former—from the *North British*, the liberal and generous tone of which took us by surprise. We certainly did not expect to find Fielding so heartily eulogized in that quarter. Another article from the same source, "Significance of the Struggle," presents a very candid and satisfactory view of the Russian war and its issues—a view which, we fancy, will meet the hearty concurrence of a very large proportion of the best-informed classes in the United States. Abbott's Napoleon, we are glad to see, gets the excoriation it deserves from the *Athenæum*.—No. 606 (the first part of Vol. XII., new series—from the beginning Vol. XLVII.) opens with a review from the *North British*—of the Life and Works of the author of Hudibras. It also contains the *Athenæum's* critique of Prescott's "History of the Reign of Philip the Second," part of an article from the London *Quarterly* on the "War Policy of Great Britain," the concluding chapters of "Zaidee," and the usual variety of short articles and poems. New York: Littell, Son & Co., 343 B'way.

A WHIP IN A BOX OF SUGAR.—One of the clerks in the Union Store, Division No. 32, in this city, while removing the sugar from the box, the other day, came across what he supposed to be a piece of cane, but which proved to be a most formidable whip, such as is used at the South for driving mules or whipping slaves. The staff is of heavy wood, measuring some two feet in length, the lash being of braided hide some six feet in length. It is a hard-looking instrument of torture, to say the least, and can be seen at the Store. The query is, how it came 'thar'; that is, in the box of sugar?—*Fall River (Mass.) Monitor.*

Chief Justice Taney has been prevented by ill health from taking his seat in the U. S. Supreme Court at the present term. He is now 75 years old, and his place must, in the natural course of things, become vacant before a great while.

Summary.

The Hon. John M. Berrien, ex United States Senator from Georgia, died at Savannah, Ga., on the 1st inst., after an illness of twelve hours.

A PASSENGER.—A Southern gentleman, somewhat dark-complexioned, yesterday passed through this village *en route* for the enjoyment of a "Happy New Year" in Canada. He was a rare specimen of the Southern stock, and gave evidence of that nobility of extraction which is Anglo-Saxonizing so large a proportion of the Africo-American population in this country.—*Genesee Valley Free Press.*

The Sandusky (Ohio) *Register*, of Thursday, says: "Eight chattels passed through this city Thursday evening, on the U. G. R. R., *en route* for Canada. They 'passed over Jordan' safely. The party consisted of four men and four women, and came from the vicinity of Parkersburg, Virginia. They are intelligent negroes, and will take care of themselves anywhere.

HORACE GREELEY A WHITE MAN.—A Washington correspondent gives the following description and amusing anecdote of Horace Greeley:

"No man in Washington attracts more attention. He cuts a quaint figure everywhere with his shambling lop-sided gait, loosely cut clothing, cravat awry, and hat perched back on the top of his head, leaving his great white face standing out like the figure head of a Dutch lugger. Greeley has great influence here, and he knows it.

"Let me tell you a little joke I heard last evening while at the National Hotel. A trio of Irish servants were busily talking politics in the corner of the reading room (Irish servants are great politicians here), when one of them suddenly exclaimed:

"'Be jabers, boys, an' there's ould Greeley!'

"'Where?' exclaimed his companions, with as much interest in their looks as they would naturally exhibit on being told that St. Patrick or Bishop Hughes was before them.

"'Standin' yon by the table, talkin' wid the tall gintleman.'

"The Hibernians gazed curiously and intensely at Horace for an instant, when the youngest of them, apparently of late importation, with wonder in his voice, observed:

"'He's a *white man!*'

"'Av coorse he's a white man,' said the first speaker, in a patronizing tone, as though Horace and he were the greatest of cronies.

"'Well, be my sowl, I've bin deceived in the ould fellow intirely,' continued the other, 'I thought he was a *nagur.*'"

A SLAVE BURNED TO DEATH.—The Cincinnati *Commercial* of Dec. 28th says: We are informed that, on the Kentucky Thanksgiving Day, a couple of young men of Maysville, whose family connections are described as of the "highest respectability," were on a drunken spree at the "Parker House," in that place, and, protracting their frolic until a very late hour, after all the household had retired to bed, attempted to rouse the barkeeper to procure more liquor, and failing in this, and finding a yellow man, one of the waiters, asleep, they concluded to *set fire to him, in order to awaken him!*

With this view they took a camphene lamp, and pouring the fluid over his whiskers, ignited it, and the poor fellow's neck and head became instantly wrapped in an intense blaze, which continued until the fluid was consumed. The sufferings of the victim were dreadful in the extreme. No refinement of torture could have produced more excruciating misery. But, strange to say, death did not release him from torment until after the lapse of two weeks.

The poor creature was the slave of Mr. Ball, keeper of the Parker House, who says, as our informant tells us, that no human suffering could exceed that of his boy, during the fortnight that he lived after the burning. The young men "respectably connected," whose drunkenness resulted in this horror, are said to allege that they burned the negro by accident—that when holding the lamp in his face they managed to break it and spill the fiery fluid upon him.

The young men are *rich*. They have agreed to pay Mr. Ball $1,200 for the loss of his servant. Our informant says that no one in Maysville speaks of the transaction without a shudder of horror; but that no movement has been made toward a legal investigation of the matter, and that the "high position" of the parties implicated will overawe any such movement.

KEEPING THE UNION FROM SLIDING.—The explanation of Mr. Banks, which we published in our telegraphic report, Tuesday morning, was doubtless received with great satisfaction by our readers. We can well imagine the sense of relief which, at every breakfast table, must have followed the official contradiction of the report that Mr. Banks was going to "let the Union slide." If the alarm caused by this report, thus happily set at rest, has not been very general, it is owing doubtless to the circumstance that the fell intent unjustly imputed to Mr. Banks was not generally known. It is even probable that many worthy and prudent men would have eaten their Christmas dinner in peace, though had they not received the consoling assurance that warned them at once of the danger that had threatened them, and of their escape from it. It is only in a certain contingency that Mr. Banks is going to "let the Union slide"; and in that contingency we have the assurance of Mr. Smith, of Virginia, the same who has just distinguished himself by rolling in the gutter with the editor of the *Washington Star*, that he will hold on to it; and as he held on to his antagonist in that fight, till he bit a piece out of him, it is plain that he has a pretty good grip, and the Union will be less likely than Mr. Wallack to give way under the Virginian's teeth. So that, between Mr. Banks and Mr. Smith, we think the Union is safe, and we confidently look forward to what we Yankees call "a considerable spell" of security.

Where the Union would slide to, and what would become of it, if both these gentlemen should let go at once, we have never permitted ourselves to inquire. We have been so intensely interested in contemplating the possibility of such a catastrophe, that we have really not had time to examine what it is; and the apprehension which is excited has something the more appalling in it on account of this very mystery. We all know that a number of immensely patriotic gentlemen have been saving the Union through a series of crises that reach almost to the beginning of the political memory of the present generation; we know it because we have their word for it, and because we have seen them submitting to hold all kinds of offices—so that they were of honour and profit—in order to prevent the threatened avalanche; and, either from their exertions, or from some other cause, the Union has stood. Who shall say, after this, that Congress is doing nothing, or that the time consumed in personal explanation is wasted?—*Prov. Journal.*

THE WHITE HOUSE.—A letter from Washington, in the *N. Y. Observer* gives the following account of the habits prevalent at the President's Mansion—a subject in which, from its moral bearings, the whole nation has an interest. Referring to the amount of work the President has to do, the writer proceeds:

"The President, however, has one habit already well known to the people here, that serves as a shield and help in this matter of labour. He is a Sabbath-keeping man. On the Lord's day no company is admitted on any pretext, and no business done except that which may fairly come under the head of necessity and mercy. The clergy of the city tell me that Mr. Pierce is a church-going man, invariably being in his seat on the Sabbath, attending twice or three times a day, and carrying his early New England habits and predilections so far as to take pleasure in an evening religious meeting during the week, when he can find refuge in such a spot from the cares of the day. If the President were a man whose example was bad, there would be many to proclaim it to the world, and as his life and conversation are such as the religious people of this country will rejoice in, it seems to be not only a propriety, but a duty, to say that social worship is maintained in his family by the President, and that the order of his household is such as becomes the Chief Magistrate of a Christian people. The gay world of course regret the want of those splendid balls and parties which have in times past made the White House the head-quarters of pleasure, but the circumstances of domestic sorrow under which the present family came into the mansion would forbid such scenes, did not their tastes and sympathies suggest other and more rational sources of enjoyment.

"The temperance people will be glad to know that the President of the United States is a total abstinence man in principle and practice. Gentlemen who have dined with him frequently assure me that he does not drink wine nor anything but pure cold water, and this has been his custom for many years. It is so difficult to get at the truth on such a point, and such opposite statements have been made, that I am pleased to be able to say this of the President, on the best of authority."

[If we are not mistaken, the author of this piece of pious twattle about the President's Sunday-keeping habits is a certain Presbyterian clergyman, long identified with Colonization and the worst form of pro-slavery in the Church. While honest men at the North are standing aghast at the measureless villany of the President's course in all that pertains to slavery, the *New York Observer* and kindred religious papers seek to produce the impression that he is a man of principle and honour—almost a Christian! As if a regular attendance at a popular church, where no word of rebuke is ever administered to slaveholders and their abettors—nay, where they are flattered and caressed—were any evidence of a good character! As for the President's temperance habits, the word of this clerical driveller is not worth a rush, since it contradicts the statements of persons likely to be far better informed and more worthy of confidence.—*Eds. Standard.*]

MARRIED.

TAYLOR—GILLINGHAM.—On Thursday, 20th ult., by the Rev. Philip F. Mayer, Dr. J. Howard Taylor, Physician of the Port of Philadelphia, to Miss Lizzie S., daughter of Dr. Wm. H. Gillingham, all of Philadelphia.

Donations

Received by the Pennsylvania A. S. Society during the months of October, November, and December.

Joseph Smith,	$10 00	Cash by Mr. Furness,	10 00
Geo. A. Snyder,	2 00	J. & E. Beans,	2 00
John N. Russell,	10 00	Isaac Ivins,	5 00
Thomas Millor,	25 00	Col. to pay Mr. G.'s	
Milton Fussell,	4 00	expenses,	42 50
R. Winslow,	16 00	Carlisle Smith,	2 00
Sarah Beans,	5 00	Mrs. Tyndale,	5 00
Dr. H. Corson,	10 00	John Atkinson,	3 50
Dr. B. Fussell,	5 00	Allen Agnew,	10 00
Collection at Spring		Eliza Agnew,	5 00
Garden Hall,	8 00	B. B. Herr,	5 00
J. Cottinger,	50 00	Abby Goodwin,	5 00
Elizabeth French,	3 00	Henry Fussell,	5 00
H. M. Twining,		Gayner Haycock,	1 00
Col. from sundry persons in Bucks Co.,	18 02	N. W. Ellis,	10 00

SARAH PUGH, Treasurer.

Cash Subscriptions

Received at the late Annual Meeting of the Pa. A. S. Society.

Thos. Hambleton,	$10 00	John Bushong,	2 50
John Evans,	10 00	N. Hallowell,	2 00
Thomas Garrett,	5 00	Esther

Miscellaneous Department.

IT IS COME.

BY MISS FRANCES BROWN.

Is it come? they said on the banks of Nile
Who looked for the world's long-promised day,
And saw but the strife of Egypt's toil
With the desert's sands and the granite grey.
From the pyramid, temple, treasured dead,
We vainly ask for her Wisdom's plan;
They tell of the slave and tyrant's dread—
Yet there was hope when that day began.

The Chaldee came with his starry lore,
That built up Babylon's crowd and creed;
And bricks were stamped on the Tigris shore,
With signs which our sages scarce can read.
From Ninus' temple and Nimrod's tower
The rule of the old East's empire spread
Unreasoning faith and unquestioned power—
But still, Is it come? the Watcher said.

The light of the Persian's worshipped flame
The ancient bondage its splendour threw;
And once on the West a sunrise came,
When Greece to her freedom's trust was true.
With dreams to the utmost ages dear,
With human gods and with godlike men,
No marvel the far-off day seemed near
To eyes that looked through her laurels then.

The Romans conquered and revelled, too,
Till honour, and faith, and power were gone;
And deeper old Europe's darkness grew,
As wave after wave the Goth came on.
The gown was learning, the sword was law,
The people served in the oxen's stead;
But even some gleam the Watcher saw,
And evermore, Is it come? they said.

Poet and Seer that question caught
Above the din of life's fears and frets;
It marched with letters—it toiled with thought—
Through schools and creeds which the earth forgets;
And statesmen trifle, and priests deceive,
And traders barter our world away;
Ye hearts to that golden promise cleave,
And still, at times, Is it come? they say.

The days of the Nations bear no trace
Of all the sunshine so far foretold;
The cannon speaks in the teacher's place—
The age is weary with work and gold;
And high hopes wither and memories wane—
On hearths and altars the fires are dead;
But that brave faith had not lived in vain;
And this is all that our Watcher said.

—*The (London) Empire.*

LUTHER'S CHRISTMAS CAROL.

From heaven above to earth I come
To bear good news to every home;
Glad tidings of great joy I bring,
Whereof I now will say and sing:

To you, this night, is born a child
Of Mary, chosen mother mild;
This little child, of lowly birth,
Shall be the joy of all your earth.

'Tis Christ our God, who far on high
Hath heard your sad and bitter cry;
Himself will your salvation be,
Himself from sin will make you free.

He brings those blessings, long ago
Prepared by God for all below;
Henceforth, His kingdom open stands
To you, as to the angel bands.

These are the tokens ye shall mark,
The swaddling clothes and manger dark;
There shall ye find the young child laid,
By whom the heavens and earth were made.

Now let us all with gladsome cheer
Follow the shepherds, and draw near,
To see this wondrous gift of God
Who hath His only Son bestowed.

Give heed, my heart, lift up thine eyes!
Who is it in yon manger lies?
Who is this child so young and fair?
The blessed Christ-child lieth there.

Welcome to earth, Thou noble guest,
Through whom e'en wicked men are blest!
Thou com'st to share our misery.
What can we render, Lord, to Thee!

Ah, Lord, who has created all,
How hast Thou made Thee weak and small,
That Thou must choose Thy infant bed
Where ass and ox but lately fed!

Were earth a thousand times as fair,
Beset with gold and jewels rare,
She yet were far too poor to be
A narrow cradle, Lord, for Thee.

—*Miss Winkworth's Lyra Germanica.*

MISS DAVIES.

In the fishing village of Penlanrhyndoldovey, in North Wales, I spent the very longest day of all my life; the place had several more syllables than I have written down, but I think I have given enough for practical purposes. The Tremadoc coach had dropped me there on Saturday evening, because it had begun to drizzle; but I made up my mind that the Tremadoc coach should pick me up again on Monday morning, though it should rain cats and dogs and Welsh rabbits. It made it up at breakfast-time, and kept on making it tighter all day long; for I had nothing else to do—it was a wet day, and it was a Sunday. The Leck was, I doubt not, situated in the most picturesque portion of the principality; but at this particular time it was located between two living walls of perpendicular rain. That Penallyn frowned down on it from a gigantic attitude, I took on trust from the guide-book; that the falls of Leckwymn at Pontiniog could be easily reached by a short mule-track, I credited with readiness, and only trusted that the short mule-track might not have been taken advantage of by the torrent to reach us. The village, they said, lay close behind us, and the sound of a little bell came up from it through the pause of the storm, as the still small voice of conscience makes itself heard amidst human passions. That image suggested itself to me after seeing my landlady going to church for the second time—taking the steeple upon her head with her, I thought—upon a couple of as comfortable legs, as far as I could see (and I saw a good way), as any Jumper in the district, leaving me alone in the house with Aprhys, her husband, and two Jenny Joneses, who could not speak one word of English. There was, at the Leck, in the way of literature, a Bradshaw, a work (selling sixty thousand daily, it said) of one of those Americanesses who have struggled in at the gate of the heaven of popularity before it could be shut after Mrs. Beecher Stowe; and a medical book upon the ear, left by a deaf tourist, the summer before last. There was, too, a single half-sheet of note-paper and a pen, the feather of which had been used in varnishing; but, after a few attempts at composition, which resulted, as they often do, in my masticating the latter instrument, I folded up the paper, and moodily devoured that also. There was one more thing to be done; but I had done it these three or four hours consecutively already; and that was to stare at the picture of Penlanrhyndoldovey, suspended over the mantelpiece. Like most views found in such places, it comprehended little of the beauty of the surrounding country; but the public buildings of the town (if it might be called so), and the harbour, and the little pier, were executed with apparent fidelity and exactness. The church itself, though small, was a very pretty one, with the massive grey tower, which becomes so well a mountainous district. The market-house for fish might rival that of St. Peter's, at Guernsey; and there were also two other well-built edifices, whose use I could not at all discover. When Mrs. Aprhys returned, with her rather less comfortable legs, I interrogated her on this matter. The rows of cottages, with porches and gardens, were almshouses, she said, for the widows and families of men who had been lost at sea (an accident which happened often on that dangerous coast); as pretty and pleasant places to end one's days in as one would wish to have; and, thinking that to be more in my line, perhaps, she added: "There's a bittock of Latin over the outer gateway: 'In memoriam, R. O., ob. eighteen hundred and twenty-five. Miss Davies built it; and the little house at the pier-head, she built that also; and night and day there were fires kept in it, and brandy, and blankets, and what not, to recover, if it might be, any of those that were found drounded."

"Dear me!" said I, coolly; for I was out of temper with Penlanrhyndoldovey, and didn't think the people much worth saving, "she must be a worthy person."

"You may say that, sir, indeed; and we should never have had church or market if it had not been for her."

"Bless me, my dear Mrs. Aprhys," for I was a raw bachelor at that period, and quite prepared to run the risk of matrimony for an adequate consideration, "why, this Miss Davies must be very rich?"

"No, sir, not very; for when folks spend no money on themselves, and only live for other people's good, it is surprising what may be done in thirty years."

"Thirty years," said I, little interested again. "O dear me, she must be oldish, then?"

"Well, sir, you may see her soon, and judge for yourself. I wonder she has not been here before; but she's sure to call this evening, upon her way home. She lives, with a servant or two, all alone in the cottage on the hill there."

Now I perceived that, for some reason or other, my dear landlady was in a quarter of a second or so of a good cry; so, by way of changing the conversation, I said, "And what a beautiful view she must have from it, both of land and sea."

"Ah, yes indeed," she sobbed, and the tears stole over her plump cheeks, and into the dimples about her little mouth, in a flood that only Mr. Aprhys could (with propriety) have dried up or impeded in quite the correct way. "And sad and sore sights she has seen from it, as ever woman's eyes have borne to look upon."

"Good gracious! What a charming—I mean, what a dreadful—mystery! Pray tell it, Mrs. Ap"——But just as the tender-hearted little woman was making herself ready for a start as improvisatore, there came a knock at the door.

"Hush! it's her!" she said; and she trotted off on her comfortable legs like—metaphor fails me—like anything.

Now, I am not naturally of an inquisitive turn of mind; but, as a late philosopher observed to his friend, "we must stop somewhere"; and I stopped at the parlour-door and looked through the crack. I felt conscience-smitten and rightly punished the next instant: they spoke in Welsh, and the lady was sixty, if she was a day. Yet her face had not only the remains of beauty, but a present charm and loveliness of its own. Her hair was snow-white; and her blue eyes, though far from bright, were full of tenderness and expression; her voice was as soft and musical as a girl's; and I fancied that I could discern in it that she was accustomed to speak with the sick and sorrowful; for her part, it was clear by the deep, though quiet, mourning that she wore, that she had had woes irreparable of her own—woes not recent, for a settled resignation seemed to possess her features, as if where the harrow of trouble had once passed, the seeds of patience and benevolence had sprung up, and effaced its cruel traces.

I backed cautiously to the fireplace, and waited for the interview to be over with some eagerness; for I was getting interested, in spite of myself, in Penlanrhyndoldovey and the house upon the hill. I beat up the cushions of the arm-chair, and placed a footstool for the accommodation of Mrs. Aprhys. I even put a chair for the landlord in the middle, in case "her" should be of a jealous temperament, and desire to be present. I was meditating as to what would be the correct drink for me to offer so obliging a hostess, when she appeared suddenly herself with my tea.

"Another cup, if you will be so good," said I.

So over that cosy meal she told me the story.

"It so happens," she began, "that this very day is the properest of any to tell you this sad tale. I forgot the date, which no poor soul in this village is likely to have done, but remembered it so soon as ever I saw Miss Ellen's face. She has been with the fatherless and the widow in their affliction, since early dawn, and now she is gone back to her lonely home. Though the storm has been driving down this ten hours, she has brought calm and sunlight to many a dwelling; and amongst the huts by the sea-beach, where there live men that would seem to you mere brutes, she has carried such help and comfort that they would risk life and limb for the sake of her. Them that the waves and winds make mock of she cares the most for, because she mourns night and day for one beneath the seas; and especially them that are lovers, the fisher lads and lassies, for whom she speaks to their parents, and makes a little golden road for true love to run smooth on—perhaps because she once was loved herself, and loved again, and she knows what it is for two fond hearts to be sundered."

"My dear Mrs. Aprhys," I said, "I perceive this is going to be something of a love story. If you will permit me to run up-stairs for my slippers, I shall be back directly, and will not interrupt you again on any account; but, in the first place, it seems likely the tale may be a little protracted, and, secondly, I have always found it impossible to appreciate sentiment in boots."

This arrangement having been completed, I nodded to my companion, who had apparently remained in deep thought during the interval, and she continued her recital in a low and feeling voice, as if soliloquising, rather than addressing another person:

"I can just remember what she was about five-and-thirty years back; but my old man could tell you of her much earlier. She lived up on the hill there with her blind father, and was as bonnie a maiden as any Snowdon top could see. Many and many a time I've seen her lead him through the town to the market (there was no market-house then), and there the old carle would chaffer and wrangle about a penny; for he was awful miserly, and the folk always let him have his way in the end, for the young lady, they well knew, would suffer nobody to lose, but made it right at last, herself. I cannot say I ever liked the look of him; but Miss Ellen would gaze upon his white head and sightless eyes as though she were a-worshipping. I suppose there is a love which child bears to parent, and parent to child, such as I, who never knew either, can scarcely understand. Anyways, she doted upon him, and, indeed, he on her; but there are, you know, two kinds of affection—one which only cares for the happiness of its object, and the other which looks after its own as well." (I objected to Mrs. Aprhys' putting the remark in this personal form, but gravely nodded my assent.) "She would have died to save his life, and he would have died for grief perhaps—afterwards.

"They used to sit together in the summer-time under their cottage porch, which was then, as now, a mass of round red roses, for he loved their beautiful perfume, although of course their colour was nothing to him; the lilies in the tarn close by, too, and all the wild flowers on the hillside, were lost to him; but he liked to hear the wind coming through the treetops of the copse, and bending the feathery tops of the brook-rushes. He knew all the fairness of nature that way, he said; and perhaps she does whisper more things to the blind than she does to us—not but that Miss Ellen was always by, to guide his finger right from east to west. She told him of the wood-crowned hill Penallyn, which the sun mukes golden in the morning, and over whose shoulders rises old Snowdon's hoary head from far away; of the harbour and the pier, and the great black nets on the shingle; of the red-sailed vessels putting out to sea. They could hear, if it was a calm day, the shouts of the sailors as they heaved their anchors, the roll of their oars in the rullocks, the dip of the oar-blades, and all the pleasant stir of the little town. She read aloud to him, as from an open book, all things that passed, and through her music, I warrant, they lost but little. From quite in the early morning to sunset, when the damsels would be crossing the stepping-stones that lead from the pasture meadows, each with her up-lifted arm and her full pitcher, and when the mountains to westward were reddening and burning, the teacher and the taught would sit there—the girl and her blind father. Now, I don't mean to say but that poor Miss Ellen had a delight of her own in this, besides that of pleasing him. There was, indeed, one fishing-boat in Penlanrhyndoldovey, which carried in her eyes a richer freight than all the rest beside; and she knew when it was on board by a little white flag. I think, too, Richard Owen, whose vessel it was, had generally a glimpse of a white handkerchief waved from the cottage on the hill when he set his red sails or furled them; and it took him, in the latter case, but a short half-hour to come from the pier to the porch of roses. It must have been a great convenience, after all, that the old gentleman who made the third of that little company was blind; and I think Aprhys would have preferred it, at one time, himself, under the like circumstances. Mr. Davies soon saw or heard enough, at all events, to tell him those two were lovers, and he hardened his heart against them from that time. I believe that he was jealous of Richard Owen because he could see, because he was young, and because he was generous; and that he hated him because he had divided or stolen a portion of his daughter's heart, which he wanted wholly for himself. The old man's ear was keener than that of love itself to catch young Richard's footfall, as he came over the hill; and then upon his sightless face a shadow would fall, which Ellen could not but see. He would never speak out about it, but would mutter, 'They are waiting for my death—they wish me dead!' And she heard him, and wept bitterly. This went on for a long time, and the poor thing hoped and hoped; but never, I think, had any intention of leaving her old father. Richard was no tardy or backward wooer, and had not much patience to be so sorely tried; and one day he spoke to her boldly in the old man's presence, telling her how she was sacrificing herself when there was no cause. 'For he can live with us,' he said, 'and be tended by you, even as now; but it is twelve long months that I have waited for you, Ellen dear, and you are no nearer to me now than at first. I shall come up to-night for your final answer, and I pray that your father's heart may be turned towards us; but else I leave the town to-morrow for good and all; and it may be, you will be sorry never to see the bonnie white flag again.'

"The old man said not a word all that time, and never let go nor ceased stroking his daughter's hand; but, when Richard was gone, he so worked upon her feelings with his piteous selfish talk, that she told him to have no further trouble for her sake. 'I will never leave thee alone and blind, my father,' she said, 'although my own Richard loves me so well.' And what a bitter struggle that must have been for her, we now know.

"When her lover came up, then, for that last time, she gave him a steadfast answer, although it nigh broke her heart, and it stirred his man's pride within him so that he strode away through the windy night without so much as a good-bye.

"I well remember that same evening; for he came into the Leck to bid adieu to his old friends, whom he was about to leave; and my uncle, who then kept the inn, but had been a sailor in his youth, besought him not to think to put to sea in such tempestuous weather; for the October gales had set in, and the waves swept right over the pier-head, and made the very harbour unsafe. What a fine brave young fellow I thought him, when he replied that he would sail the morrow morning, although there was no hand to be got to help him work his ship. And he did sail as soon as the day dawned; and, for all it was so early, the whole town was as near the beach as they durst go, to see him and his little crew off; and there was one, we may be sure, in the house on the hill, whose tearful sleepless eyes were fastened upon the bonnie boat more than all. She watched it for hours, as it now lay upon its side in the heaving bay, and now sank out of sight except for the white pennant (which he had nailed to the mast) that shone out against the black water, and now rose high, as if upon a mountain. She saw it grow dimmer, in spite of the gale, and the points rounded one after the other, and nearly into the open sea; so far had the good ship got at last, though it scarcely seemed to move; but while it was beating up opposite Hell's Mouth, and near to Bardsey Island, she lost all sight of it for that time. She saw it again the same evening, alas! for the wind and the tide brought it back to harbour, keel uppermost. She was not more than twenty or so, poor girl; but her hair turned from that hour as white as it looks now. She grew thin and pale, but never let a word of complaint escape her, nor her father know how her heart had lost its hope, or her form its beauty; only once, when he attempted to condole with her, and thank her for what she had done for him, and suffered for his sake, she stopped him with a word or two in such a tone as he never dared to draw forth from her again. She tended him hour by hour, while his feet were treading the downward way, for years, and the flowers upon his grave are kept alive till now by her loving hands; but her heart is not buried, I think, with him at all, but somewhere under the deep sea with her drowned lover's.

"The old man left her very wealthy (for these parts), which I dare say he thought would make up to her for all the rest. Our town is quite another place in consequence; and, as I told you at first, the poor folk whose trade is on the great waters, she seems to consider as if they were her own children; them that are laden with the like trouble as herself especially, who have lost husband or kinsman at sea, and for whom her almshouses were built, she visits and cares for continually; and on this day, above all—this day, thirty years ago, upon which poor Richard Owen perished, she comes to them in the morning as sure as the sun itself, and keeps his memory green amongst them by good deeds.

"And," observed Mrs. Aprhys, in conclusion, as she wiped her eyes and rose from her seat, "'tis the best way of keeping a death-day that I know, sir."

"It is, indeed, my dear madam," I said, "and I thank you very much for your affecting story. And do you think the dear old lady, poor Miss Ellen, is happy now?"

"Not like she might have been with her lover, perhaps. I have no right to say that much, with so good a man as Aprhys yonder for my husband; but happy she ought to be; for I think God must love her, and I am sure her fellow-creatures do."

I put on my slippers, which had entirely dropped off during this feeling recital, and retired to my bed. I had all kinds of pleasant dreams and angelic visions; but none came up to the reality of that dear old lady in black, Miss Davies.—*Household Words.*

SECRETS OF THE GEMS.

That many things glitter which are not gold is well known; but do the wearers of jewelry know that the bright and beautiful colours exhibited by most of their much-prized gems are purely artificial? Nature supplies the raw material, and art steps in to embellish it. The brilliant necklace or bracelet, which, with the native hue of the stone, would by no means be considered ornamental, becomes matchless in tint and lustre after passing through the hands of the artificer. Your chemist, always discovering something, and always ready with marvellous transformations, is truly a remarkable personage. He is jealous of his secrets, but not always able to keep them. If he could set a seal on his doings, our readers would not have been entertained with the present article, in which we shall reveal some of his processes.

Let us begin with the agate—rather a common stone, found almost everywhere, and in numerous varieties, among which are the chalcedony, cornelian, onyx, sardonyx and heliotrope. They all consist principally of quartz, and are more or less pellucid. In some places, they are surprisingly abundant. One of these places is Oberstein, some thirty or forty miles up the valley of the Nahe, a region not often visited by Summer tourists, yet interesting enough to repay him who shall explore its devious by-ways, and paths along the river. At the village just mentioned, and at Idal, four miles distant, formations of coarse red conglomerate are met with, interposed with trap and greenstone; and in a soft stratum in these rocks, agates are found in considerable quantities. The workings may indeed be called agate-quarries, for they are carried on in the precipitous side of a hill; and to him who sees them for the first time there is something remarkable in the species of industry created by the presence of the stones.

The nodules of agate, as they come from their long-undisturbed bed, are generally of an ashen-gray colour. The first operation in the progress of transformation is to wash them perfectly clean; then to put them into a vessel containing a mixture of honey and water, which, being closely covered, is plunged into hot ashes for two or three weeks. The essential thing is to keep the liquid from boiling, but at a high temperature. After a sufficient interval, the stones are taken out, cleansed, passed through a bath of sulphuric acid, and then they undergo a second course of roasting in the hot ashes.

To produce a colour in the stones, it is necessary they should be penetrated by some carbonizable substance. This is effected by the honey, which, under the influence of long-continued heat, finds its way into the interior of the crystal, where its carbonization, if not complete in the first instance, is finished by the sulphuric acid. Some lapidaries use olive-oil instead of honey. The shade of colour depends on the porosity of the layers of the stone; the most porous become at times perfectly black. Some are coloured in two or three hours, others in as many days, others in a week or two, and some resist all attempts to change their natural hue. Some, when taken out of the pan, are found to be a rich dark-brown or chocolate; others, again, having been penetrated by the colouring matter between the layers, are striped alternately white, gray and brown, like the onyx and sardonyx. By soaking the stones in a solution of sulphate of iron, and then placing them for a few hours in the oven, a fine cornelian red is produced in the porous layers, while those not porous remain unaltered. Thus it not unfrequently happens that very coarse and common stones—muddy-yellow or cloudy-gray which, in their natural condition, would be valueless—are passed off as stones of the first quality. It is only within the last forty years that this process has been known in Germany; but the Italian lapidaries were acquainted with it centuries ago. Hence we can account for the exquisite colour of antique cameos and other ornaments once numerous in the cabinets of Italy, and now to be seen in museums and private collections in all parts of the world. The dealers, when making their purchases of what we may call the raw material, select what appears to be a desirable piece, and chipping off a minute portion, they moisten the exposed surface with the tongue, and watch the absorption of the moisture. If regular and equal, the stone is good for an onyx; if not it is added to the heap of inferior varieties. This, however, is but a rough-and-ready test, and not always decisive.

The pores of the stones, by which the colour is conveyed and retained, are visible with the microscope, and the effect of various tints is produced according as the light falls upon them at different angles. The rainbow-agate is full of minute cells, which, when exposed to the sun, produce prismatic colours, as is observed of the strix of mother-of-pearl. To detect cavities in the stones, they are soaked in water, which, slowly penetrating, reveals the hollows. Some already contain water when first found: and it is a remarkable fact that, if kept in a dry place, the water disappears, but without leaving the slightest trace of moisture on the surface: and the stones can only be refilled by boiling them.

Balls of striped red chalcedony are much prized: a large one, weighing a hundred pounds, was found in 1844, near Weisselberg, and was sold in the rough for 700 guilders. Some kinds of chalcedony are made to appear of a citron yellow, by a two days' roasting in an oven, and a subsequent immersion in a close hot-bath of spirit of salt for two or three weeks. A blue colour, which has all the effect of a turquoise, is also produced; but the particular colouring process has hitherto been kept a secret. Those stones which are naturally coloured are at times roasted, to heighten the tint and add to its permanency. The Brazilian cornelian becomes singularly lustrous under the process; the explanation being, that the long-continued action of heat removes the oxyhydrate of iron contained in the stone, leaving it with a clear brightness diffused through the whole mass. The smallest stones are roasted before polishing; but the large ones, of which saucers, vases, cups, plates, &c., are made, are first cut into the required shape and thinness—otherwise they fly to pieces when exposed to heat. After all the colouring operations have been gone through, the stones are ground on a wheel; soaked in oil for a day, to conceal the fine scratches and give a good polish; and then cleaned off with bran.

Those who examined the collection of gems and works of art from rare stones, in the Great Exhibition of 1851, will remember the elegant onyx vases of different colours—some streaked with white natural veins; the cups of red chalcedony; a chain of the same substance in large square links of different colours, and without visible joints; besides other objects so beautifully finished that a prize-medal was awarded to the manufacturers.

So far, we have been treating of methods by which art assists nature: we come now to the gems that are not found in the side of a quarry, but formed in the chemist's laboratory. Before the days of Berlin wool and crochet-work, young ladies used to amuse themselves by making crystalline baskets and trays, as ornaments for the mantel-piece, but they had first to dissolve their alum. The chemist works by other means; and especially since the application of electro-galvanism to his processes, there is something really wonderful in the results. He produces crystals at pleasure, and in lumps that would astonish those who once laboured so hard in search of the philosopher's stone. A few years ago, M. Ebelman laid before the French Academy of Sciences specimens of artificial quartz—some white, others blue, red and violet; and by mixing chloruret of gold with the silicic acid used in the composition, he produced a mass traversed throughout with delicate veins of gold, similar to the lumps brought from Australia or California. By a modification of his process, he produced hydrophane—that species of opal which is transparent only when immersed in water; and specimens also of the allied crystal, hyalite. In this operation, silicic ether and moist air are principally employed; a variety of colours could be imparted by the admixture of different coloured alcoholic solutions. Chloride of gold produces a beautiful topaz yellow; and by exposing the crystal for a time to light, the gold is dispersed through it in flakes, as in aventurine; and kept in sunlight, the flakes change to a violet or rose colour, and become transparent. In this fact, we have an extraordinary instance of molecular action—the distribution of metallic scales through a solid mass; one which, as some geologists suppose, helps to throw light on the mode of formation of rocks and minerals. That pieces of wood, plants and animal substances will become silicified, or, as is commonly said, petrified, is well known; and, though often wondered at, the diffusion of the gold flakes through the crystal is yet more marvellous.

Besides Ebelman, two other savans—Senarmont and Becquerel—have obtained surprising results in the artificial formation of crystals and minerals. Some among their specimens of chrysolite and chrysoberyl were hard enough to cut glass. And many curious effects have been noted in the course of their investigations and experiments. Glass containing arsenic, though at first transparent, becomes cloudy and opaque, then waxy, and finally crystalline. A familiar instance of a similar effect is offered by barley-sugar, which gradually loses its transparency, and becomes somewhat waxy in texture. Another discovery was, that pounded loaf-sugar, mixed with sulphuric acid, forms a glutinous substance, which, when dry, detonates like gun-cotton.

We might go on with these interesting results, which open novel views of the capabilities of chemical science; but for the present we content ourselves with a few words on ultramarine—a substance much used by artists and by a certain class of artificers. Some years ago, it was prepared exclusively from *lapis lazuli*, a mineral found in Siberia, and was sold at prices varying from seven to twenty guineas the ounce, according to quality. But the chemists set to work upon it, prying, weighing, testing, and eventually discovered its constituents, but were long at a loss for the colouring principle. At last Guimet, of Lyon, hit on the idea of trying to combine the constituents in their natural proportions, as in the native mineral; and the result was that the colour was produced, and ultramarine could be sold at two guineas a pound. The constituents are—silicate of alumina, soda and sulphuret of sodium; and the colour is supposed to be due to the action of the last on the two first. Guimet's success set other experimenters on the scent; the secret was rediscovered, and now ultramarine may be bought at 1s. 3d. a pound, and is largely used in many industrial processes.

But there is still another way of manufacturing artificial gems; and to make our article complete, we must finish with a short notice of it. Our clever allies across the Channel have the credit of discovering and practicing it with no small advantage to themselves. Just outside the Barriere du Trône, at Paris, stands a large factory, where a species of sand, brought from the Forest of Fontainebleau, is converted into emerald, topaz, sapphire and ruby. Artificial pearls are also produced in great numbers; and as these are lined with fish-scales, an active fishery of roach and dace is kept up in the Seine during the Spring months, when the fish are in their prime. But it is for the manufactory of diamonds that the factory is most celebrated—diamonds that deceive the eye of everybody but the maker. Thomas Carlyle has given us, among his Essays, a story concerning The Diamond Necklace, which lets us into the secret of a stupendous fraud, successfully accomplished before the very eyes of royalty; and if we could get at the history of the transactions of this diamond-factory, we should find the fraudulent business still lively. Many have been deceived who never found out the cheat put upon them; others have discovered it to their sorrow. We give one instance from among many, borrowed from a contemporary:

"A few years ago, an English lady entered the shop belonging to the proprietor of the factory, situate on the Boulevard, looking rather flushed and excited, and drawing from her muff a number of morocco-cases of many shapes and sizes, opened them, one after another, and spread them on the counter.

"'I wish,' she said, 'to inquire the price of a *parure*, to be made in exact imitation of this; that is, if you *can* imitate the workmanship with sufficient precision for the distinction never to be observed.'

"M. B—— examined the articles attentively, named his price, and gave the most unequivocal promise that the *parure* should be an exact counterpart of the one before him. The lady insisted again. She was urgent overmuch, as is the case with the fair sex in general. Was he sure the imitation would be perfect? Had he observed the beauty and purity of these stones? Could he imitate the peculiar manner in which they were cut, &c.?

"'Soyez tranquille, madame,' replied M. B——; 'the same workman shall have the job, and you may rely on having an exact counterpart of his former work.'

The lady opened her eyes in astonishment and alarm; and M. B—— added, by way of reassuring her: 'I will attend to the order myself, as I did when I received the commands of Milor ——, who ordered this very *parure*, I think, last February'; and, with the greatest unconcern, he proceeded to search his ledger, to ascertain which of the workmen had made it, and the date of its delivery. Meanwhile, the lady had sunk down in a swoon. The milor named by the tradesman was no other than her own treacherous lord and master, who had forestalled her, by exchanging Rundell and Bridge's goodly work against M. B——'s deceptive counterfeit, no doubt to liquidate his obligations on the turf. The vexation of the lady, on recovering from her fainting fit, may be imagined; she reproached the diamond-maker with having assisted her husband in deceiving her, and retired mortified at the idea that she herself had never detected the difference between the false and the real. Many times had she worn the glittering gems, believing them to be the same she had brought in her casket from England."

We have heard it said that many of the snuff-boxes given away as marks of royal or imperial favour are adorned with diamonds made in M. B——'s factory; and that Mehemet Ali, the late Pacha of Egypt, was the first to give away the costly-looking shams. If this be true, it would only be fair to expose the mighty personages, as well as cheating grocers. Let the recipients of snuff-boxes and diamond-rings see to it. A mock tiara, that may be bought for 600 francs, will look as well as a real one worth £1,000. What, then, shall be said of minor articles?—*Chambers' Journal.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

In Sweden, a man who is seen four times drunk is deprived of his vote at elections and the next Sunday after the fourth offence is exposed in the churchyard.

——Mrs. Gaskell, of Manchester, has undertaken to write the "Life of Charlotte Bronte" (author of "Jane Eyre"), having been requested to do so by both father and husband.

——Louis Napoleon has presented to the Princess Royal of England the fan once belonging to the unfortunate Maria Antoinette; and to her brother, the Prince of Wales, a small watch, the case of which is composed of a ruby split in half.

——In ingenious hatter of Paris has constructed a house of felt, made out of 24,000 old hats. This house contains parlours, dining and bed-rooms, and a kitchen. It is erected upon a platform, upon the plain of St. Denis, and can be transported from place to place.

——Madame Jenny Lind Goldshmidt appeared at Exeter Hall on the 10th ult., singing in Haydn's "Creation," after an absence from England of six years. One of the London journals says she looks thinner, but all seem to agree that her vocal powers are as superb as ever.

——A letter from Berlin states that the celebrated traveller, Madame Ida Pfeiffer, has instituted suit against a newspaper in that city. The *Morgenpost* or *Morning Post* remarked that "Ida Pfeiffer may be seen and talked to daily by any one, from nine to twelve o'clock." The lady regarded this as libellous, and instituted a suit.

——Louis Napoleon so highly appreciates the value of his *coup d'état* (called by Victor Hugo "the crime") of December 2, 1851, that the whole mass of papers and documents relating to the act are bound together, and on the outer covering bear, written in the Emperor's own hand, the one word "Rubicon."

——It is said that soon after the late Mr. Lucas had abjured Quakerism, renounced his collarless costume, and taken to the worship of Catholicism, he was encountered by John, who exclaimed—"Well, Friend Lucas, how does thee like thy new superstition?" "Why, Friend Bright," retorted Frederick, "I like it better than I did our old hypocrisy."

——A Paris correspondent of a continental paper says—"They tell me that an Englishman has left London for Sebastopol, with a little vessel of his own, to carry out an idea which is thoroughly English. He goes out to obtain stones from the fortifications of the place, with which he intends building a house in the environs of London. This original is expected to arrive with his cargo very shortly."

——The Queen of Spain has presented two valuable pictures by Murillo to the Pope. The subjects are the "Marriage of St. Catherine," and the "Prodigal Son." The former always hung in the Queen's bed-room, and before it her majesty was in the habit of paying her evening devotion; at least such was the *on dit*. The pictures are deposited in the museum of the Vatican.

——The *British Friend* reports that the late Mr. Alex. Morrison, of Frimley, in Surrey, has bequeathed the sum of £300 to the Peace Society, and £100 to each of the friends who composed the deputation to the Emperor of Russia in 1853 on the impending war, viz., Joseph Sturge, Robert Charleton and Henry Pease, and also an estate, each valued at about £1,500, to John Bright and Richard Cobden.

——The *Athenæum* gives further hints as to the origin of the metre adopted by Longfellow in his recent poem, "Hiawatha." "It is possible," says W. J. in that journal, "that the American poet may have been led to select his new metre from its employment by the late M. A. Castrén in the Swedish, and by Anton Schiener in the German translation of 'Kalevala.' But rhymeless trochaic dimeter is commonly used throughout Europe."

——The American idiom [says a London paper] is evidently one of forcible expression—and the ladies seem fond of it. Thus, when some English travellers lately had just gone on board the steamer that was to take them from St. Paul, the capital of Minnesota, down the Mississippi to Galena, they "went in search of cabins, in the course of which Bury found himself, by mistake, in the ladies' saloon—a fact he was politely informed of by one of the occupants, who said, 'Guess you *put* for the wrong pew, mister!'"

——Orderly People.—There are persons who are never easy unless they are putting your books and papers in order—that is, according to their notions of the matter—and hide things, lest they should be lost, where neither the owner nor anybody else can find them. This is a sort of magpie faculty. If anything is left where you want it, it is called litter. There is a pedantry in housewifery as well as in the gravest concerns. Abraham Tucker complained that whenever his maid-servant had been in his library, he could not set comfortably to work again for several days.—*Hazlitt.*

——Great Men of Humble Origin.—The reformer Zwingle emerged from a shepherd's hut among the Alps. Melancthon, the great theologian of the Reformation, was a workman in an armourer's shop. Martin Luther was the child of a poor miser. Carey, who originated the plan of translating the Bible into the language of the millions of Hindostan, was a shoemaker in Northampton. Dr. Morrison, who translated the Bible into the Chinese language, was a lastmaker in Newcastle. Dr. Milne was a herd boy in Aberdeenshire. Dr. Adam Clarke was the child of Irish cottars. John Foster was a weaver. Andrew Fuller was a farm-servant.

——From his nineteenth year, says a London paper, the Duke of Argyle has been always putting himself forward with pamphlets, speeches, lectures, soirées. His Grace once thought that, because on one occasion Lord Derby did not reply to his speeches, therefore the palm of victory rested with the Duke, who crowed lustily. "My lords," said the Earl of Derby, "a short time since, there was one of those persons called 'navvies,' who was in the habit of allowing his wife to beat him. He was a very large man, and she was only a small woman. The neighbours asked him why he permitted her. 'Oh, never mind,' said he; 'it amuses her and don't hurt me.'" Shouts of laughter greeted this allusion.

—— A temperance lecturer in England recently informed the audience of the component parts of a bottle of old crusty port wine, which, on being analyzed by a practical chemist, was found to contain 14oz. of cyder, 4oz. strong decoction of logwood, 3oz. spirits of wine, 1 1-2oz. sugar, 2 scruples of alum, 1 scruple tartaric acid—such was the article manufactured in large quantities here and in America, where this *genuine* article was in such great demand that the shipping to France, where it gets sealed and reshipped, has become a very large and, as it must be well known, a very lucrative trade, seeing that this compound was sold for four or five shillings the bottle. The speaker elicited much applause.

——Early Trials of Successful Writers.—When Mr. Dickens laid down the reporter's pencil, he was not entirely preserved from failure. He wrote an opera (though few know this) which Hullah set to music, and it failed. A farce for a theatre shared the same fate. Mr. Thackeray's early productions are very poor. Douglas Jerrold, in escaping from his sea life, and subsequent sojourn in a printing-office, endured trials which left an impression on his sharp features, and from which, perhaps, he draws the quills of caustic touching up his bitter irony. Mr. Fonblanque, before throwing himself from Mr. Chitty's dusky office into the brighest current of the periodical press, must have had a severe schooling to pass through.

——Dickens a Dandy.—A London correspondent says: "All Parnassus appears to be in Paris at present. We hear of Charles Dickens making a daily visit to the studio of Shaffer, whose pencil, it appears, has been called into requisition to give us the full effect of a moustache, and a new style of arranging the hair, which have lately so much transmogrified Boz, that his own father—were he, poor man, 'to the fore'—would not know him. The popular portraits of Dickens were taken from a painting, executed about ten years ago, by Maclise; but the portrait gives you no idea of the Dickens of to-day. The moustache, the frilled shirt, the diamond studs, and the all-rounder, have made quite another man of the modest-looking youth. Dickens is said to have caught the infection of frills and patchouli from Bulwer, who was always very extensive in that line."

——Nature and Art.—Upon examining the edge of a very keen razor with a microscope it will appear as broad as the back of a thick knife; rough, uneven, full of notches and furrows. An exceedingly small needle resembles a rough iron bar. But the sting of a bee, seen through the same instrument, exhibits everywhere a polish most amazingly beautiful, without the least flaw, blemish, or inequality, and it ends with a point too fine to be discerned. A small piece of exceedingly fine lawn appears, through a microscope, like a hurdle or lattice, and the threads themselves seem coarser than a yarn with which ropes are made for anchors. But a silkworm's web appears perfectly smooth and shining, and everywhere equal. The smallest dot that can be made with a pen appears, when viewed by the microscope, an irregular spot, rough, jagged and uneven. But the little specks on the wings or bodies of insects are found to be most accurately circular. So great is the contrast between the works of God and man.

——M. de Bonpland, once the celebrated fellow-traveller of Baron Humboldt, now eighty-three years of age, has turned into an American planter in Chili. He occupies himself on his *haciendas* with the rearing of Paraguay tea—bothers the legislative authorities of the country (by whom, however, he seems to be appreciated according to his high merits) with never-ceasing applications on behalf of a more general and more reasonable cultivation of that important article—and has become a merchant, in so far, at least, as to buy up the mandioca harvests of his neighbours, in order to make use of "this precious root for his special purposes." "I am accustomed," he says, "to live in the shade of trees of a thousand years—to listen to the song of the birds building their nests upon them—and to see at my feet the bubbling waters of a clear brook. What, in noisy Paris, would indemnify me for the absence of these benefits? Shall I work there, in some garret, for the publisher who wants to print my works? Shall I have there no other solace than to see, from time to time, the blowing of a rose on my window sill?"

——Mr. W. Smith O'Brien's new book on "The Principles of Government; or Meditations in Exile," has surprised its readers by the singular calmness with which it is written. Of his capabilities for writing an interesting book, he says: "During a period of more than twenty-five years I have had such opportunities of observation in regard of political affairs as present themselves to but few writers. I have been a member of the British Parliament during eighteen years. I have taken a part